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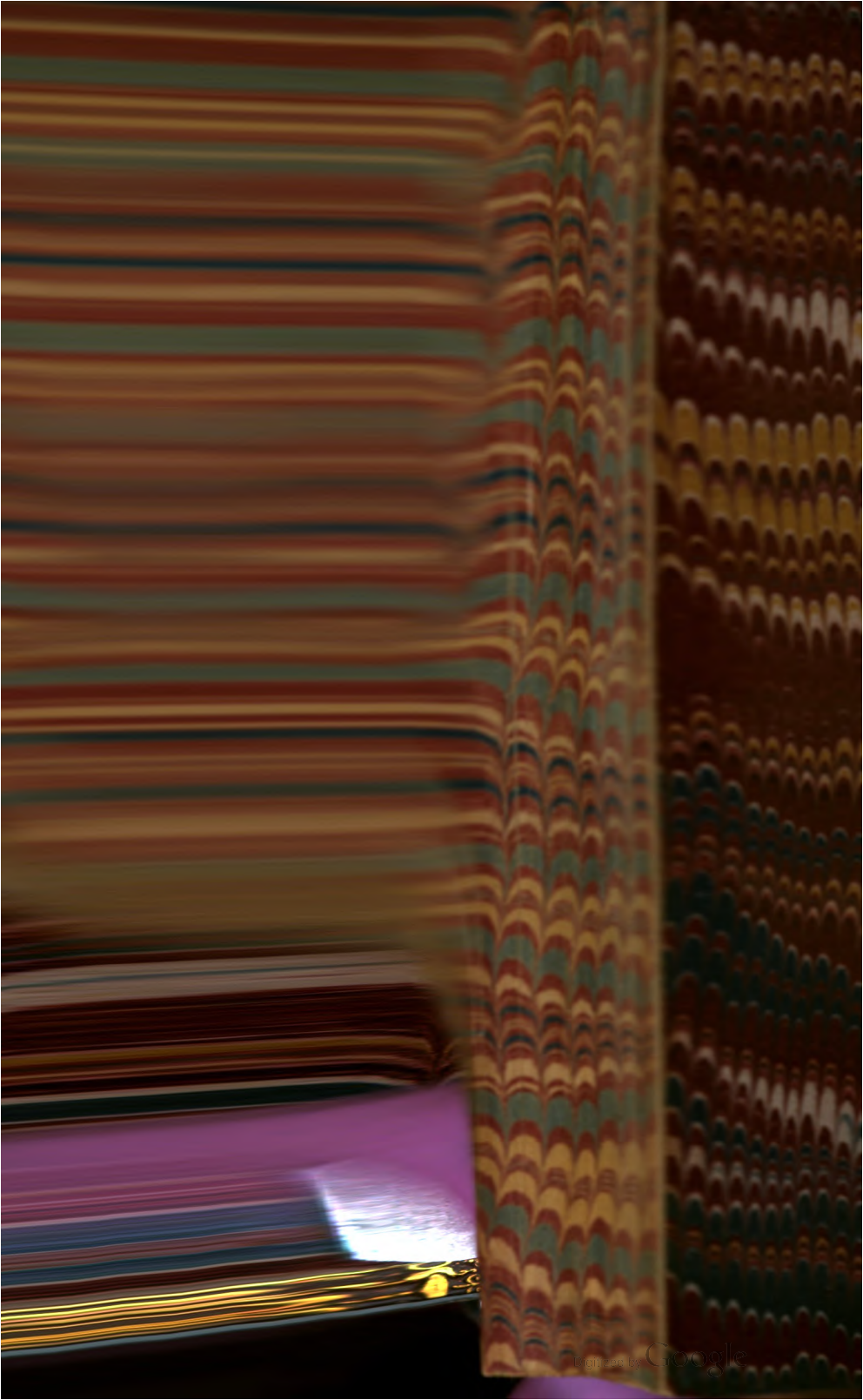
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BISHOP BURNET'S
HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIME:

WITH NOTES

**BY THE EARLS OF DARTMOUTH AND HARDWICKE,
SPEAKER ONSLOW, AND DEAN SWIFT.**

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

OTHER ANNOTATIONS.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THE HISTORY OF MY OWN TIMES.

BOOK VII. CONTINUED.

(From the middle of the year 1710 to the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht.)

I HAVE now completed my first design in writing, which was to give a history of our affairs for ^{1710.} fifty years, from the 29th of May 1660: so if I confined myself to that, I should here give over: but ^{The history continued to the peace.} the war seeming now to be near an end, and the peace, in which it must end, being that which will probably give a new settlement to all Europe, as well as to our affairs, I resolve to carry on this ⁵⁴⁹ work to the conclusion of the war. And therefore I begin with the progress of the negotiations for peace, which seemed now to be prosecuted with warmth.

All the former winter, an intercourse of letters ^{Negotiations for a peace.} was kept up between Pettecum and Torcy, to try if an expedient could be found to soften that article for the reduction of Spain to the obedience of king Charles; which was the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries: it still was kept in agitation, upon

1710. the foot of offering three towns to be put into the hands of the allies, to be restored by them when the affairs of Spain should be settled; otherwise to be still retained by them. The meaning of which was no other, than that France was willing to lose three more towns, in case king Philip should keep Spain and the West Indies: the places therefore ought to have borne some equality to that for which they were to be given in pawn; but the answers the French made to every proposition shewed they meant nothing but to amuse and distract the allies. The first demand the allies made, was of the places in Spain then in the hands of the king of France; for the delivering up these might have been a good step to the reduction of the whole: but this was flatly refused; and that the king of France might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the strong places in Spain, and soon after out of that kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; though the French forces were kept still in the neighbourhood: so a show was made of leaving Spain to defend itself. And upon that, king Philip prevailed on the Spaniards to make great efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the French king to deceive both the allies and his own subjects, who were calling loudly for a peace; and it likewise eased him of a great part of the charge that Spain had put him to. But while his troops were called out of that kingdom, as many deserted, by a visible connivance, as made up several battalions: and all the Walloon regiments, as being subjects of Spain, were sent thither: so that king Philip was not weakened by the recalling the French

troops ; and, by this means, the places in Spain could not be any more demanded. The next, as most important towards the reduction of Spain, was the demand that Bayonne and Perpignan might be put into the hands of the allies, with Thionville on the side of the empire. By the two former, all communication between France and Spain would be cut off, and the allies would be enabled to send forces thither with less expense and trouble : but it was said, these were the keys of France, which the king could not part with ; so it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the Netherlands ; and even there 550 they excepted Doway, Arras, and Cambray : so that all their offers appeared illusory ; and the intercourse by letters was for some time let fall. But in the end of the former year, Torcy wrote to Pettecum, to desire, either that passes might be granted to some ministers to come to Holland, to go on with the negotiation, or that Pettecum might be suffered to go to Paris, to see if an expedient could be found : and the States consented to the last. In the mean while king Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice ; declaring his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards : he also named plenipoten-tiaries to go in his name to the treaty, who gave the States notice of their powers and instructions ; and, in a letter to the duke of Marlborough, they gave intimations how grateful king Philip would be to him, if by his means these his desires might be complied with ; as the like insinuations had been often made by the French agents : but no notice was taken of this message from king Philip, nor was any answer given to it. Pettecum, after some days' stay

1710. at Paris, came back without the pretence of offering any expedient, but brought a paper that seemed to set aside the preliminaries: yet it set forth, that the king was willing to treat on the foundation of the concessions made in them to the allies; and that the execution of all the articles should begin after the ratification. This destroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the distinction the king had formerly made, between the spirit and the letter of the Partition Treaty, shewed how little he was to be relied on: so the States resolved to insist both on the preliminaries, and on the execution of them, before a general treaty should be opened. By this message all thoughts of a treaty were at a full stand. In the beginning of February another project was sent, which was an amplification of that brought by Pettecum; only the restoring the two electors^a was insisted on as a preliminary, as also the restoring the upper Palatinate to the elector of Bavaria; but the allies still insisted on the former preliminaries. The court of France seeing that the States were not to be wrought on to go off from the preliminaries, sent another message to them, that the king agreed to all the preliminaries, except the thirty seventh; and if they would consent that his ministers should come and confer with them upon that article, he did not doubt but what should be proposed from him would be to their satisfaction. This seemed to give some hopes; so the States resolved to send the passports; but they foresaw the ill effects of suffering the French ministers to come into their country, 551 who, by their agents, were every where stirring up the people against the government, as if they were

^a (Of Bavaria and Cologne.)

prolonging the war without necessity; so they appointed Gertruydenburg to be the place to which the French ministers were to come, to treat with the deputies they should send to meet them. 1710.

The ministers sent by France, were the marquess d'Uxelles and the abbot de Polignac; and those from the States, were Buys and Vanderdussen: the conferences began in March. The French proposed, that the dominions in Italy, with the islands, should be given to one of the competitors for the Spanish monarchy, without naming which; but it was understood, that they meant king Philip: the deputies did not absolutely reject this; but shewed, that the emperor would never consent to parting with Naples, nor giving the French such footing in Italy; the French seemed to be sensible of this: the first conference ended upon the return of the courier, whom they sent to Versailles. They moved for another conference; and upon several propositions, there were several conferences renewed. The king of France desisted from the demand of Naples, but insisted on that of the places on the coast of Tuscany: at last they desisted from that too, and insisted only on Sicily and Sardinia: so now the partition seemed as it were settled. Upon which, the deputies of the States pressed the ministers of France to give them solid assurances of king Philip's quitting Spain and the West Indies; to this (upon advertisement given to the court of France) they answered, that the king would enter into measures with them to force it. Many difficulties were started, about the troops to be employed, what their number should be, and who should command them; all which shewed the execution would prove im-

Conferences
at Gertruy-
denburg.

1710. practicable. Then they talked of a sum of money to be paid annually, during the war; and here new difficulties arose, both in settling the sum, and in securing the payment: they offered the bankers of Paris; but these must all break, whensoever the king had a mind they should: so it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the allies, by this offer of a partition, to which the States consented; and at which the French hoped the house of Austria would have been provoked against them. The French asked an assurance of the deputies, that no other articles should be insisted on but those in the preliminaries; this the deputies positively refused; for they had, by one of the preliminaries, reserved a power to all the allies to make further demands, when a general treaty should be opened; they said, they themselves would demand no more, but they could not limit the rest from their just demands.

552 This was another artifice, to provoke the empire, and the duke of Savoy, as if the States intended to force them to accept of such a peace as they should prescribe: in another conference, the States rejected the offer of a sum of money for carrying on the war in Spain, and therefore demanded, that the French would explain themselves upon the subject of evacuating Spain and the West Indies in favour of king Charles, before they could declare their intentions with relation to the partition; and added, that all further conferences would be to no purpose, till that was done.

All came to
no conclu-
sion.

The French were now resolved to break off the negotiation; and so they were pleased to call this demand of the States, a formal rupture of the treaty; and upon the return of an express that they sent to

Versailles, they wrote a long letter to the pensioner, 1710.
 in the form of a manifesto; and so returned back to
 France, in the end of July^b. This is the account,
 that both our ministers here and the States have
 published of that affair: the French have published
 nothing; for they would not own to the Spaniards,
 that they ever entered upon any treaty for a parti-
 tion of their monarchy, much less for evacuating
 Spain. Whether France did ever design any thing
 by all this negotiation, but to quiet their own people,
 and to amuse and divide the allies, is yet to us a se-
 cret^c; but if they ever intended a peace, the reason

^b There was a minute of a cabinet council amongst lord Somers's papers, in which the breaking of these conferences was the subject under debate. Lord Somers gave his opinion very strongly for the continuance of the war, till the restitution of Spain and the West Indies; and intimated that nothing could have encouraged the French ministers to hold that insolent language in their manifesto, but the intrigues that were carrying on at home. The dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, who were both at this cabinet, appeared to have been of another opinion, and to have disapproved the conduct of the allies at Gertruydenburg. I think lord Godolphin and lord Sunderland were not at this meeting, but the dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset were. It was before a complete change of the ministry: and, if I mistake not, lord Cowper was present. H.

^c ("Before the conferences

"were concluded, the king of
 "Spain signified that he would
 "never consent to yield the
 "crown of Spain for any com-
 "pensation; upon which the
 "French king instructed his
 "plenipotentiaries not to insist
 "further upon an equivalent,
 "but to renew their offer of
 "subsidies for assisting the
 "allies in the Spanish war." Torey, vol. II. p. 80; Somerville's *Hist. of Queen Anne*, c. vi. p. 389, &c.—"When at length
 "every essential demand was
 "yielded by the French king,
 "they still exacted such secu-
 "rities for the performance of
 "his engagements, as he could
 "not grant without violating
 "every obligation of honour
 "and affection; namely, that
 "he should alone, and unas-
 "sisted, perform the unnatural
 "deed of deposing his own
 "grandson within the space
 "of two months. The evi-
 "dence of the French king's
 "sincerity in making offers of
 "peace at this time, may be

1710. of their going off from it, must have been the account they then had of our distractions in England ; which might make them conclude, that we could not be in a condition to carry on the war.

A change
of the min-
istry in
England.

The queen's intentions to make a change in her ministry now began to break out ; in June she dismissed the earl of Sunderland from being secretary of state, without pretending any maleversation in

" rested entirely upon the value
" and extent of the concessions
" to which he agreed.—Let
" any person, after deliberately
" investigating the respective
" interests of the allied powers,
" estimate the full extent of
" the advantages which would
" have accrued to them, severally
" and jointly, from such
" a peace as was now offered ;
" and let him say, whether the
" rejection of it can be justified
" upon any sound, moral,
" or political principle?—If
" all the rest of the conditions
" accepted by the French king
" had been fulfilled, would it
" have been possible for Philip,
" single and unassisted, to have
" supported his title against
" the united and concentrated
" force of so many potent adversaries?" Somerville, *ibid.*
p. 393. At the same time
Coxe, in his *Memoirs* of sir
Robert Walpole, expresses his
belief in the sincerity of the
offers of the English ministry,
and that they really thought
France was reduced so low as
to be obliged to accept the
proffered terms of peace.—
" From an impartial review,"
he writes, " of the numerous

" papers, to which I have had
" access, and from a diligent
" comparison of the political
" writings of those times, I
" feel the strongest conviction,
" that the ministry were sincere
" in proposing the terms
" of peace at the congress of
" Gertruydenburg ; that they
" were even anxious to lower
" the demands of the Dutch,
" and make them as moderate
" as were consistent with the
" security of Europe, and that
" they were sanguine in their
" expectations that Louis the
" Fourteenth, circumstanced as
" he then was, would accede
" to them. It also appears,
" from the Diary of lord Cowper,
" that he was the only one
" of the ministers who harboured
" a doubt on the subject, and that by expressing
" that doubt he incurred the
" indignation of Godolphin.
" ' For my part,' says lord
" Cowper, ' nothing but seeing
" so great men believe it,
" could ever incline me to
" think France reduced so low
" as to accept such conditions.'"
Coxe's *Memoirs of Walpole*, vol. I. p. i. c. 5. pp. 28, 29.)

him, and gave the seals to the lord Dartmouth^d. 1710.
 This gave the alarm, both at home and abroad; but the queen, to lessen that, said to her subjects here, in particular to the governors of the bank of England, and wrote to her ministers abroad, that they should assure her allies, that she would make no other changes; and said this herself to the minister whom the States had here: all these concurred to

^d The queen said, lord Sunderland always treated her with great rudeness and neglect, and chose to reflect in a very injurious manner upon all princes, before her, as a proper entertainment for her. (Compare *Caveat against the Whigs*, part iv. p. 93.) He was son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, and that whole family thought they had little occasion to manage the queen, or shew her much respect. He was kept a month longer than was designed, upon a dispute who should succeed him; the queen would not hear of lord Nottingham, nor the whigs of lord Anglesea; and the scheme at that time went no further than for removing the Marlborough family. At last the queen proposed me, as one she had known long, and believed she could live easily with herself, and asked lord Somers if he thought the whigs could do so too; he told her she could not have pitched upon a properer person; for though I was looked upon as a tory, I was known to be no zealous party man; and he was sure the whigs would live very well with me, and would understand

it to be her own choice, and think themselves well come off, after the alarm lord Anglesea had given them. Upon which the seals were given to me, and all the ministers visited me, (as did the earl of Sunderland;) and they all declared publicly, that since the queen thought fit to dismiss lord Sunderland, they were very well pleased with the choice she had made. And lord Godolphin sent William Penn to assure me, nobody approved better of it than he did, though it was not decent for him, in regard to my predecessor, to make public demonstration of any satisfaction upon that occasion. D. (The earl of Sunderland, it is said by Oldmixon in his History, p. 450, when offered a pension of 3000*l.* a year, refused it, declaring that if he could not have the honour of serving his country, he would not plunder it. The lord Bolingbroke, in a letter, p. 280, of his Correspondence, lately published, observes that lord Nottingham was personally disagreeable to the queen. The cause of this may be seen in a preceding note at p. 227, folio edit.)

1710. express their joy in this resolution, and joined to it their advice, that she would not dissolve the parliament. This was represented by those who had never been versed in the negotiations of princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the queen's councils; though nothing is more common than for princes to offer mutual advices in such cases^e. Two months after the change of the secretary of state, the queen dismissed the earl of Godolphin from being lord treasurer^f, and put the treasury in commis-

^e But when they found their remonstrance had no effect, their envoy, Mr. Van Boorsel, came to me, to assure me their high mightinesses had the utmost respect and value for me, and had always esteemed me as one zealously affected to the common cause; but were obliged to act in the manner they had done, (which he owned was a wrong step,) in gratitude to the late ministers, from whom they had received many obligations: therefore hoped I would not have any resentments upon that account. I told him, I thought if the queen had none, upon so unusual a treatment from one sovereign to another, it would little become her servants to shew any; therefore desired he would assure their high mightinesses, that in my own particular, I should be always ready to serve them, as far as was consistent with my duty to the queen, and the interest of England. Afterwards, Mr. Buis brought letters of compliment from the States to the duke of Shrewsbury, the

earl of Oxford, and myself, and made many apologies for their former behaviour: but the queen did not think it proper that we should answer otherways than by word of mouth. D.

^f The princess of Mindenheim says, the queen sent her letter for dismissing the earl of Godolphin from her service, by a livery man, to be left with his porter: which is much of a piece with queen Mary's turning up the bedding, &c. the night she came to Whitehall. The letter was sent by Mr. Smith, a particular friend of his own, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards a teller for life, at his lordship's recommendation; as was his nephew Boscawen, lord warden of the stanaries; and the duke of Grafton had several grants in Northamptonshire; and many other proofs I had of his correspondence with her majesty, when he was out: but it is possible he might not think it proper to trust her grace with that secret; but I do believe the letter of his

sion: lord Powlet was the first in form, but Mr. 1710.
 Harley was the person with whom the secret was 553
 lodged; and it was visible, he was the chief minister: and now it appeared, that a total change of the ministry, and the dissolution of the parliament, were resolved on.

In the mean while Sacheverel, being presented to a benefice in North Wales, went down to take possession of it; as he passed through the countries, both going and coming, he was received and followed by such numbers, and entertained with such magnificence, that our princes in their progresses have not been more run after, than he was^g: great fury and violence appeared on many occasions, though care was taken to give his followers no sort of provocation; he was looked on as the champion of the church; and he shewed as much insolence on that occasion, as his party did folly. No notice was taken by the government of all these riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than checked; all this was like a prelude to a greater scene that was to be acted at court. The queen came in Oc-

Sacheverel's progress to Wales.

from Newmarket was wrote for her to shew the whigs, who kept him in great awe, and by her account were very jealous of him. D. (Compare Swift's *Change in the Queen's Ministry*, p. 13; but, like the duchess of Marlborough, he appears to have been mistaken in his account, that the treasurer's staff was taken from lord Godolphin, by her majesty's letter sent by a very ordinary messenger.)

^g ("He was in a manner
 " adored by the common peo-

" ple wherever he came; and
 " arriving at Oxford, was met
 " and magnificently entertain-
 " ed by the vice-chancellor
 " and heads of that university,
 " as well as by most persons
 " of distinction in the neigh-
 " bourhood of that city. When
 " he approached Shrewsbury,
 " he was met by near five
 " thousand horse, and saluted
 " with the most joyful accla-
 " mations." *The Life and Reign*
of Queen Anne, p. 541.)

1710. tober to council, and called for a proclamation, dissolving the parliament, which Harcourt (now made attorney-general in the room of Montague, who had quitted that post) had prepared: when it was read, the lord chancellor offered to speak; but the queen rose up, and would admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new parliament to be prepared. At that time she dismissed the lord Somers, and in his room made the earl of Rochester lord president of the council: she sent to the duke of Devonshire for the lord steward's staff, and gave it to the duke of Buckingham^h; Mr. Boyle was dismissed from being secretary of state, and Mr. St. John had the seals: the earl of Derby was removed from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and was succeeded by the lord Berkeley. The lord chancellor came, upon all these removes, and delivered up the great seal; the queen did not look for this, and was surprised at it; and not knowing how to dispose of it, she, with an unusual earnestness, pressed him to

^h I was ordered by the queen to go to the duke of Devonshire for his staff, (which he parted with in more passion than became him; but I was too much his friend to represent it to the queen;) and was to acquaint lord Somers, that she thought it necessary for her service, that lord Rochester should be president of the council, but had orders from her majesty to assure him that she had not lessened her esteem for him, and designed to continue the pension, and should be glad if he came often to her. Lord Somers said, he did not think things would have been carried

so far, but expressed a great deal of duty and gratitude to the queen, with some very obliging compliments to myself; and desired he might apply to me when he made use of the liberty the queen was pleased to allow him; which he did several times. She often told me she thought herself very much obliged to him, and that he was a man that had never deceived her. I knew that he complained that she had him, but I really believe he wronged her, and what he thought a deceit was as much so upon her as him. D.

keep it one day longer; and the day following, she 1710.
 having considered the matter with her favourites
 Mrs. Massam and Mr. Harley, received it very readily; and it was soon given to sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton delivered up his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the duke of Ormond: and the earl of Orford, with some of the commissioners of the admiralty, withdrew from that board, in whose room others were put. So sudden and so entire a change of the ministryⁱ is scarce to be found in our history, espe-

ⁱ Harley did not design this at first. He meant only the removal of the treasurer and his immediate dependants, with some few others, to make room for his own friends, and then to have gone on with the rest of the whigs, and to have continued the parliament and the war, with the duke of Marlborough in the command of it. For this he proposed a meeting with the lords Somers, Halifax, and Cowper. They met him, and did not dislike the overture, but desired some days to consult with their friends upon it, which they did with some few, particularly the lord Wharton, but he was averse to it, even to a detestation of having any thing to do with Harley, of whom he talked with the utmost indignation and scorn, saying, he could do no business, would soon break his own neck, and that all things would be in such confusion, as to force the queen back again into the hands of the whigs. That this was the situation of power they ought to be in, and not to

have it in a motley ministry with such a r—— as Harley at the head of it, who perhaps meant now only to cheat them into an assistance he wanted from them for his present purpose. This was strong, and it had its effect: the negotiation was at an end, and Harley then threw himself at once and entirely into the hands of the Tories, who soon distrusted him, and therefore drove him, as he was almost alone, into many of their most desperate measures, by which we lost the war, and were very near losing the protestant succession, against his inclination and principles. What I have here mentioned of Mr. Harley's offer to those whig lords, and what passed upon it, I had from sir Joseph Jekyl, who had it, very likely, and I think he said so too, from the lord Somers, to whom he was brother-in-law. Lord Cowper's keeping the seal so long as to the dissolving of the parliament, and issuing the writs for the new one, and Harcourt's having been made

1710. cially where men of great abilities had served, both with zeal and success, insomuch, that the administration of all affairs at home and abroad, in their 554 hands, was not only without exception, but had raised the admiration of all Europe. All this rose purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the queen's personal distaste to the old ones. The queen was much delighted with all these changes, and seemed to think she was freed from the chains the old ministry held her in: she spoke of it to several persons as a captivity she had been long under. The duke of Somerset had very much alienated the queen from the old ministry, and had no small share in their disgrace; but he was so displeased with the dissolution of the parliament, and the new model of the ministry, that though he continued some time master of the horse, he refused to sit any more in council, and complained openly of the artifices had been used, to make him instrumental to other people's designs, which he did, among others, to myself^k.

attorney-general, occasioned some imagination that he (lord Cowper) waited to see whether the whigs would not at last come into the compromise proposed by Harley; and because of that delay of his to give up the seal, some hopes were entertained at court that he would go on with the new ministry, which agrees with what this author says of the surprise the queen was in when he first came to deliver it up: but this I cannot vouch for. There was at this time a famous pamphlet, called "Faults of both Sides," written by

one Clements, under the direction of Mr. Harley, in which this very proposal was handed out to the world. O.

^k The duke of Somerset always acted more by humour than reason. He had been extremely solicitous and impatient to get the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin out; and then insisted to have a packed parliament of theirs meet, to call himself and every body else in question for having done it. He was a man of vast pride, and having had a very low education, shewed it in a very indecent manner. His

The next, and indeed the greatest care of the 1710. new ministry was, the managing the elections to parliament. Unheard-of methods were used to secure them; in London, and in all the parts of England, but more remarkably in the great cities, there was a vast concourse of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themselves in so boisterous a manner, that it was not safe, and in many places not possible, for those who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a whig; open violence was used in several parts: this was so general through the whole kingdom, all at the same time, that it was visible the thing had been for some time concerted, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it¹. The clergy

The elections of parliament men.

high title came to him by one man's misfortune, and his great estate by another's; (for he was born to neither, but elated with both to a ridiculousness.) After having absented for some time, he offered himself at the cabinet: but all the rest declared to the queen, that they would not sit there if he did; upon which the council was dismissed for that time, and he never attempted it more. I was ordered to deliver a message from the queen to the duke of Kent, who seemed much surprised, and told me he had just before received one in her majesty's name by the duke of Somerset, directly the contrary. Upon which the queen thought herself obliged, as she was pleased to say, to turn him out, or I should have reason, as well as the duke of Kent, to have very hard thoughts of her. D. This noble lord was so hu-

moursome, proud, and capricious, that he was rather a ministry spoiler than a ministry maker. H. (Arthur Maynwaring, who was a very active, able, and zealous agent for the whigs, endeavoured, but without success, to unite the duke with lord Godolphin. See Oldmixon's Life and Posthumous Works of Maynwaring, p. 340.)

¹ My uncle sir Richard Onslow lost his election for the county of Surrey, to the great triumph of the party, but he recovered it at the choice of the next parliament. O. (The bishop, as the author of Queen Anne's Life and Reign observes, p. 593, dwells altogether in generals, and does not specify any instance of a vote being refused, or of any person being threatened or assaulted for giving it. But see Boyer's Hist. of this Reign. p. 478.)

1710. had a great share in this ; for besides a course, for some months, of inflaming sermons, they went about from house to house, pressing their people to shew, on this great occasion, their zeal for the church, and now or never to save it : they also told them in what ill hands the queen had been kept, as in captivity, and that it was a charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the power the late ministry exercised over her.

While the poll was taken in London, a new commission for the lieutenancy of the city was sent in ; by which a great change was made ; tories were put in, and whigs were left out ; in a word, the practice and violence used now in elections, went far beyond any thing that I had ever known in England : and by such means, above three parts in four of the members returned to parliament may at any time be packed : and, if free elections are necessary to the being of a parliament, there was great reason to doubt, if this was a true representative duly elected.

555 The bank was the body to which the government of late had recourse, and was always readily furnished by it ; but their credit was now so sunk, that they could not do as they had done formerly ; actions, that some months before were at 130, sunk now so low as to 95, and did not rise above 101 or 102 all the following winter. The new ministers gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and steadily abroad, maintain our alliances, and carry on the war. But before I enter on the session of parliament, I will give an account of affairs abroad.

A sinking
of credit.

Affairs in
Spain.

King Philip went to Arragon to his army, and gave it out, that he was resolved to put all to the

decision of a battle with king Charles, who was likewise come to head his army; they lay so near one another, that king Philip cannonaded the camp of his enemies, but his men were beat off with loss, and drew away to a greater distance; however, before the end of July, there was an action of great importance near Almanara: the main body of king Philip's horse designed to cut off a part of king Charles's foot that was separated from the cavalry, commanded by Stanhope: he drew his whole body together; and though he was much inferior in number, yet he sent to king Charles for orders to engage the enemy. It was not without some difficulty, and after some reiterated pressing instances, that he got leave to fall on.

As the two bodies were advancing one against another, Stanhope rode at the head of his body, and the Spanish general advanced at the head of his troops: the two generals began the action; in which, very happily for Stanhope, he killed the Spaniard; and his men, animated with the example and success of their general, fell on and broke the Spanish horse so entirely, that king Philip lost the best part of his cavalry in that action; upon which, he retired towards Saragoza; but was closely followed by king Charles: and on the 20th of August they came to a total engagement, which ended in an entire defeat: and by this means Arragon was again in king Charles's hands. King Philip got off with a very small body to Madrid. But he soon left it, and retired, with all the tribunals following him, to Valladolid; and sent his queen and son to Victoria. Some of his troops got off in small bodies; and these were, in a little time, brought together, to the

The battle
of Alma-
nara.

1710. number of about 10,000 men ; the troops that they had on the frontier of Portugal were brought to join them, with which they soon made up the face of an army.

556 King Charles made all the haste he could to Madrid, but found none of the grandees there ; and it appeared that the Castilians were firmly united to king Philip, and resolved to adhere to him at all hazards^m. The king of France now shewed he was resolved to maintain his grandson, since if he had ever intended to do it, it was now very easy to oblige him to evacuate Spain. On the contrary, he sent the duke of Vendome to command the army there ; and he ordered some troops to march into Catalonia, to force king Charles to come back, and secure that principality. King Charles continued till the beginning of December in Castile. In all that time no care was taken by the allies to supply or support him : we were so engaged in our party matters at home, that we seemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done : the court of Vienna was so apprehensive of the danger from a war like to break out between the grand seignior and the czar, that they would not diminish their army in Hungary. After king Charles left his army, Starembergh seemed resolved to take his winter quarters in Castile, and made a

King
Charles at
Madrid.

^m “ Charles, after remaining
“ only one night in the capi-
“ tal, where his life was in
“ danger, moved to Toledo
“ with the intention of resid-
“ ing there through the ap-
“ proaching winter. But the
“ same hostility, which he had
“ experienced in the metro-
“ polis, broke out in every
“ part of Castile ; and, though
“ the army of Philip had not
“ been augmented by strong
“ reinforcements, must have
“ rendered his quarters there
“ untenable.” Somerville’s
Hist. of Queen Anne, ch. xvi. p.
02.

shew of fortifying Toledo; but for want of provision, and chiefly for fear that his retreat to Arragon might be cut off, he resolved to march back to the Ebro: king Philip marched after him. Starembergh left Stanhope some hours' march behind him, and he took up his quarters in an unfortified village called Brihuega: but finding king Philip was near him, he sent his aid-de-camp to let Starembergh know his danger, and to desire his assistance. Starembergh might have come in time to have saved him; but he moved so slowly, that it was conjectured he envied the glory Stanhope had got, and was not sorry to see it eclipsed; and therefore made not that haste he might and ought to have done.

Stanhope and his men cast up entrenchments, and defended these very bravely as long as their powder lasted; but in conclusion they were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of warⁿ: some

The battle
of Villa
Viciosa.

ⁿ When Mr. Stanhope had obtained leave to return to England, I introduced him to the queen, who received him very graciously, and told him she should be glad to know his opinion of Spanish affairs; and whether he thought it practicable to dispossess the duke of Anjou. He spoke very modestly of his own ability, but obeyed her majesty's commands. He said Spain was of so vast an extent, besides other properties belonging to its situation and fastnesses, that he thought it impracticable to be done by force: and there was little reason to expect any assistance from the people, religion and liberty being out of the case, and the duke of Anjou's having

children, turned the bias of his side with them. The clergy, who had the greatest influence, were generally averse to the emperor, for having brought an army of heretics amongst them, and did not think, if he carried his point, that they were likely to be under a lasting establishment. Therefore, upon the whole, he could give little encouragement to expect any great success in that part of the world, unless there were other means than were known to him. D. (Mesnager the French negotiator in this kingdom, speaks in his *Minutes* of the derision, with which the declaration of the queen and house of commons to carry on the war with vigour, especially

1710. hours after that, Starembergh came up; and though the enemy were more than double his number, yet he attacked them with such success, that he defeated them quite, killing 7000 of their men, took their cannon and baggage, and stayed a whole day in the field of battle^o. The enemy drew back; but Starembergh had suffered so much in the action, that he was not in a condition to pursue them; nor could he carry off their cannon for want of horses; but he nailed them up, and by slow marches got to Saragoza, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any disturbance. As he did not judge it safe to stay long in Arragon, so in the beginning of January he marched into Catalonia; but his army had 557 suffered so much, both in the last action at Villa Viciosa, and in the march, that he was not in a condition to venture on raising the siege of Gironne, which was then carried on by the duke of Noailles;

in Spain, was received by the king of France, p. 102. But it is doubtful, whether the English translator of these Minutes, who is said to have been the well known De Foe, does not here write, *more suo*, under the visor of his author.)

^o ("The French appear to have been successful for a considerable time after the engagement began; but the great bravery of Starembergh, in the centre, which is mentioned with admiration by his enemies, occasioned a favourable turn for the allies, when night coming on, after the engagement had lasted above three hours, rendered the issue

"undecided. Compare Quincy, *Histoire de Louis*, History of Europe. Whatever the immediate apparent success of this engagement might be, the consequence proved fatal to the allies, as the loss of three or four thousand men, added to the capture of the troops at Briheuga, rendered them incapable of facing the enemy again." Somerville's *Hist. of Queen Anne*, ch. xvi. p. 404. note, who adds, that upon hearing of these events the elector of Hanover shrewdly remarked, that the union of France and Spain was the golden knot, which it was impossible to untie.)

and no relief coming, the garrison, after a brave defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means Catalonia was open to the enemy on all sides. 1710.

The Spanish grandees seemed to be in some apprehensions of their being given up by the French; and there was a suspicion of some caballing among them: upon which, the duke of Medina Celi, king Philip's chief minister, was sent a close prisoner to the castle of Segovia, and was kept there very strictly, none being admitted to speak to him: he was not brought to any examination; but after he had been for some months in prison, being oft removed from one place to another, it was at last given out that he died in prison, not without the suspicion of ill practices. Nothing passed on the side of Piedmont; the duke of Savoy complaining still of the imperial court, and upon that refusing to act vigorously.

After Doway was taken, our army sat down before Bethune; and that siege held them a month, at the end of which the garrison capitulated: and our army sat down at one and the same time before Aire and St. Venant, to secure the head of the Lys. St. Venant was taken in a few weeks: but the marshy ground about Aire made that a slower work; so that the siege continued there about two months before the garrison capitulated. This campaign, though not of such lustre as the former, because no battle was fought, yet was by military men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this respect, that our men were about an hundred and fifty days in open trenches; which was said to be a thing without example. During these sieges the French army posted themselves in sure camps, but

1710. did not stir out of them, and it was not possible to engage them into any action. Nothing considerable passed on the Rhine, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both sides ^P.

Affairs in
the north.

The czar carried on the war in Livonia with such success, that he took both Riga and Revel; and to add to the miseries of Sweden, a great plague swept away many of their people. Sweden itself was left exposed to the Danes and the czar; but their dominions in Germany were secured by the guarantee of the allies: yet, though the government of Sweden did accept of this provisionally, till the king's pleasure should be known, it was not without difficulty that he was prevailed on to give way to it.

The new
parliament
opened.

I come now to give an account of the session of parliament, which was opened the 25th of November: the queen, in her speech, took no notice of the successes of this campaign, as she had always done 558 in her former speeches; and instead of promising to maintain the toleration, she said, she would maintain the indulgence granted by law to scrupulous consciences; this change of phrase into Sacheverel's language was much observed. The lords made an address of an odd composition to her, which shewed it was not drawn by those who had penned their for-

^P ("Upon the review of this campaign, it appears, that the allies had little to boast of; they added several valuable towns to their former conquests, but were removed farther than ever from the principal object at which they professed to aim. Their prospect of subduing Spain, and deposing Philip, was now become more desperate; and

"when seven millions of money, and the lives of above twenty thousand men, are put in the balance against all their other advantages, posterity cannot hesitate in condemning the folly, as well as the iniquity of those who wantonly prolonged the war." Somerville's *History of Queen Anne*, ch. xvi. p. 406.)

mer addresses : instead of promising that they would 1710.
do all that was possible, they only promised to do all that was reasonable, which seemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended that unreasonable things might be asked of them : and the conclusion was in a very cold strain of rhetoric ; they ended with saying, *they had no more to add*. The commons were more hearty in their address ; and in the end of it they reflected on some late practices against the church and state. Bromley was chosen speaker without any opposition : there were few whigs returned, against whom petitions were not offered ; there were in all about an hundred ; and by the first steps the majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the house of all who were suspected to be whigs. They passed the bill for four shillings in the pound before the short recess at Christmas.

During that time, the news came of the ill success in 1711.
Spain : and this giving a handle to examine into that The conduct in Spain censured by the lords.
part of our conduct, the queen was advised to lay hold on it ; so, without staying till she heard from her own ministers or her allies, as was usual, she laid the matter before the parliament, as the public news brought it from Paris ; which was afterwards found to be false in many particulars ; and told them what orders she had given upon it, of which she hoped they would approve. This was a mean expression from the sovereign, not used in former messages, and seemed to be below the dignity of the crown. She ordered some regiments to be carried over to Spain, and named the earl of Peterborough to go to the court of Vienna, to press them

1711. to join in the most effectual measures for supporting king Charles there. The lords, in their answer to this message, promised that they would examine into the conduct of the war in Spain, to see if there had been any mismanagement in any part of it: and they entered immediately into that inquiry. They began it with an address to the queen, to delay the despatch of the earl of Peterborough, till the house might receive from him such informations of the affairs of Spain as he could give them. This was readily granted; and he gave the house a long recital of the affairs of Spain, loading the earl of Galway with all the miscarriages in that war. And in particular he said, that in a council of war in 559 Valencia, in the middle of January, 1706-7, the earl of Galway had pressed the pushing an offensive war for that year, and that the lord Tyrawly and Stanhope had concurred with him in that; whereas he himself was for lying on a defensive war for that year in Spain: he said, this resolution was carried by those three, against the king of Spain's own mind; and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in Spain to this resolution so taken. Stanhope had given an account of the debates in that council to the queen: and the earl of Sunderland, in answer to his letter, had wrote by the queen's order, that she approved of their pressing for an offensive war; and they were ordered to persist in that. The earl of Sunderland said in that letter, that the queen took notice that they three (meaning the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawly, and Stanhope) were the only persons that were for acting offensively; and that little regard was to be had to the earl of Peterborough's opposition. Upon the strength

of this letter the earl of Peterborough affirmed, that the whole council of war was against an offensive war: he laid the blame, not only of the battle of Almanza, and all that followed in Spain, upon those resolutions, but likewise the miscarriage of the design on Toulon; for he told them of a great design he had concerted with the duke of Savoy, and of the use that might have been made of some of the troops in Spain, if a defensive war had been agreed to there. The earl of Galway and the lord Tyrawly were sent for; and they were asked an account of that council at Valencia: they said, there were many councils held there about that time; and that both the Portugueze ambassador and general, and the envoy of the States, agreed with them in their opinions for an offensive war; and they named some Spaniards that were of the same mind: they also said, that all along, even to the battle of Almanza, in all their resolutions, the majority of the council of war voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to persist in their opinions by letters wrote to them, in the queen's name, by the secretaries of state: that as to the words in the earl of Sunderland's letter, that spoke of them as the only persons that were of that opinion, these were understood by them as belonging only to the queen's subjects, and that they related more immediately to the earl of Peterborough, who opposed that resolution, but not to the rest of the council of war, for the majority of them was of their mind.

The earl of Galway gave in two papers: the one related to his own conduct in Spain; the other was an answer to the relation given in writing by the earl of Peterborough. The house of lords was so

1711.

1711. disposed, that the majority believed every thing that
— was said by the earl of Peterborough: and it was
560 carried, that his account was honourable, faithful,
and just; and that all the misfortunes in Spain were
the effect and consequence of those resolutions taken
in the middle of January.

From this censure on the earl of Galway, the debate was carried to that which was chiefly aimed at, to put a censure on the ministry here. So it was moved, that an address should be made to the queen, to free those who were under an oath of secrecy from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the house of all their consultations: the queen granted this readily; and came to the house, which was understood to be on design to favour that which was aimed at. Upon this the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the lord Cowper, shewed that, considering the force sent over to Spain under the lord Rivers, they thought an offensive war was advisable; that the expense of that war was so great, and the prospect was so promising, that they could not but think an offensive war necessary; and that to advise a defensive one would have made them liable to a just censure, as designing to protract the war. The design on Toulon was no way intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the earl of Peterborough fancied he was in that secret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some troops from Spain on that design, and had offered a scheme to the duke of Savoy, in which that was mentioned, and had sent that over to England. But though the duke of Savoy suffered that lord to amuse himself with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on Toulon, that duke had

declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost secrecy, which was ^{1711.} ~~sacredly~~ kept, and communicated only to those to whom it must be trusted for the execution of it. No troops from Spain were to be employed in that service, nor did it miscarry for want of men. These lords farther said, they gave their opinions in council according to the best of their judgment; their intentions were very sincere for the service of the queen, and to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Yet a vote passed, that they were to blame for advising an offensive war in Spain, upon which the loss of the battle of Almanza followed; and that this occasioned the miscarrying of the design upon Toulon.

Here was a new and strange precedent of censuring a resolution taken in council; and of desiring the queen to order all that had passed in council to be laid before the house: in all the hot debates in king Charles the first's reign, in which many resolutions taken in council were justly censurable, yet the passing any censure on them was never at-561 tempted by men who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative: but they understood well what our constitution was in that point: a resolution in council is only the sovereign's act, who, upon hearing his counsellors deliver their opinions, forms his own resolution: a counsellor may indeed be liable to censure for what he may say at that board; but the resolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a silent respect: but by this precedent it will be hereafter subject to a parliamentary inquiry. The queen was so desirous to have a censure fixed on her former ministry, that she did not enough

Reflections
made on it.

1711. consider the wound given to the prerogative by the way in which it was done ^q.

After this was over, another inquiry was made into the force we had in Spain at the time of the battle of Almanza ; and it was found not to exceed 14,000 men, though the parliament had voted 29,000 for the war in Spain. This seemed to be a crying thing; tragical declamations were made upon it: but in truth that vote had passed here only in the January before the battle of Almanza, which was fought on the 14th of April. Now it was not possible to levy and transport men in so short a time: it was made appear, that all the money given by the parliament for that service was issued out and applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was used, both in forwarding the levies and in their transportation: they were sent from Ireland, the passage from thence being both safest and quickest. All this, and a great deal more to the same purpose, was said: but it signified nothing; for when resolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form, used to come at the question with some decency: and there was so little of that observed at this time, that the duke of Buckingham said in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make use of it, as he had observed done by others, when they had it on their side. So, though no examination had been made, but into that single point of the numbers at Almanza^r, they came to a general vote, that the late

^q The good bishop's general and indefinite sentiments here are liable to much exception. He did not try them by his

whig principles. See what he himself says in this book, page 624. O.

^r (The author of the Life and

ministry had been negligent in the management of the war in Spain, to the great prejudice of the nation; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an address, and laid before the queen: and though they had made no inquiry into the expense of that war, nor into the application of the money given by the parliament for it, yet in their address they mentioned the great profusion of money in that service. This they thought would touch the nation very sensibly; and they hoped the thing would be easily believed on their word. Protests were made against every vote in the whole progress of this matter: some of these carried such reflections on the votes of the house, that they were expunged.

I never saw any thing carried on in the house of lords so little to their honour as this was; some, who voted with the rest, seemed ashamed of it: they said, somewhat was to be done, to justify the queen's change of the ministry; and every thing elsewhere had been so well conducted as to be above all censure: so the misfortune of Almanza being a visible thing, they resolved to lay the load there. The management of the public treasure was exact and unexceptionable; so that the single misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified: some were more easily drawn to concur in these votes, because, by the act of grace, all those who had been concerned in the

Reign of Queen Anne observes, "that if it be true what the bishop says before, that it was made appear, that all the money given by the parliament for that service was issued out and applied to it;

"then something more must have been examined into besides that single point of the numbers at Almanza." p. 610. Other points, incidentally at least, were entered on.)

1711.

1711. administration were covered from prosecution and punishment: so this was represented to some as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the queen, and by which no person could be hurt. They loaded singly the earl of Galway with the loss of the battle of Almanza, though it was resolved on in a council of war, and he had behaved himself in it with all the bravery and conduct that could be expected from a great general, and had made a good retreat, and secured Catalonia with inexpressible diligence. They also censured him for not insisting on the point of honour, in the precedence to be given to the English troops, as soon as the Portuguese army entered into Spain: but by our treaty with that crown the army was to be commanded by a Portuguese general; so it was not in his power to change the order of the army: if he had made the least struggle about it, the Portuguese, who were not easily prevailed on to enter into Spain, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occasion which such a dispute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: and so by his insisting on such a punctilio, the whole design would have been lost. We had likewise, in our treaty with them, yielded expressly the point of the flag in those seas^s, for which alone, on other occasions, we have engaged in wars; so he had no reason to contest a lesser point: yet a censure was likewise laid on this. And this was the conclusion of the inquiries made by the house of lords this session.

Some abuses cen-

Harley, in the house of commons, led them to in-

^s (This had been conceded through the superior influence of lord Godolphin in the cabinet, against the remonstrance

of the earl of Nottingham. See Ralph's Answer to the Account of the Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 209.)

quire into some abuses in the victualling the navy: 1711. they had been publicly practised for many years, ^{sured in the} some have said, ever since the restoration: the abuse ^{house of} was visible, but connived at, that several expenses ^{commons.} might be answered that way: some have said, that the captains' tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the house, who was a whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the house; 563 and a prosecution was ordered against him; but the abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever: here was a shew of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived.

The money did not come into the treasury so readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four ^{Supplies} shillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on malt: ^{given for} so, to raise a quick supply, there were two bills passed ^{the war.} for raising three millions and a half by two lotteries; the first of 1,500,000*l.* and the second of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years: and for a fund to answer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards and dice, and on the postage on letters. In one branch of this, the house of commons seemed to break in upon a rule that had hitherto passed for a sacred one. When the duty upon leather was first proposed, it was rejected by a majority ^t, and so, by their usual orders, it was not to

^t This, I have heard, was carried against Harley by the private instigation of St. John, who had got the violent tories into his separate management, and was recovered in the way here mentioned, by the help of the whigs; to whom, for that purpose, Harley, by his brother and others, made some very

submissive applications, with some very bad insinuations against St. John; and it is certain they never were well together afterwards. See postea, 566. The method here spoken of to recover the loss of the former question, was unparliamentary, and dangerous and mean too. O.

1711. be offered again during that session: but, after a little practice upon some members, the same duty was proposed, with this variation, that skins and tanned hides should be so charged: this was leather in another name. The lotteries were soon filled up; so by this means money came into the treasury: and indeed this method has never yet failed of raising a speedy supply. There was no more asked, though in the beginning of this session the house had voted a million more than these bills amounted to; which made some conclude there was a secret negotiation and prospect of a peace.

The duke of Marlborough still commanded our armies.

As the duke of Marlborough was involved in the general censure passed on the former ministry, so he had not the usual compliment of thanks for the successes of the former campaign: when that was moved in the house of lords, it was opposed with such eagerness by the duke of Argyle and others, that it was let fall^u. For this the duke of Marlborough was prepared by the queen; who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the thanks of the two houses, as had been formerly: she added, that she expected he should live well with her ministers, but did not think fit to say any thing of the reasons she had for making those changes in her ministry^x. Yet he shewed no resentments for

^u (See Lord Bolingbroke's Letters and Correspondence, published 1798, vol. I. p. 29.)

^x Upon the duke of Marlborough's coming home, I asked the queen, how she would have her servants live with him? She said, that would depend upon his behaviour to her. I told her, I was sure

that would be all submission, since other means proved ineffectual; and asked her, if she could stand that? She said, from him she could. After he had been with her, she told me it was just as I said, only lower than it was possible to imagine. When I went to wait upon him, he received me with seeming

all the ill usage he met with; and having been much pressed by the States and our other allies to continue in the command of the army, he told me, upon that account, he resolved to be patient, and to submit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and finding the queen's prepossession against his duchess was not to be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to the queen: she was groom of the stole^y, had the robes, and the privy purse^z; in all which she had served with

kindness and civility, and put me in mind of our relation; which I had not heard of for many years before: and hoped I would do him good offices to the queen, who, he knew, had an entire confidence in me, which he was sincerely glad of. He complained of his wife, who, he said, acted strangely, but there was no help for that, and a man must bear with a good deal, to be quiet at home. He spoke very severely of the duke of Argyle, who was never to be satisfied or obliged: and told me, however the world went, I should come off well; for I had many friends and few enemies, and he did not despair of laughing heartily with me one day at all these hurlyburlys. D.

^y The manner of her grace's surrender, as I was told by one who was very intimate in the family, was, that when the duke of Marlborough told her the queen expected the gold key, she took it from her side, and threw it into the middle of the room, and bid him take it up, and carry it to whom he

pleased. D.

^z Her grace and her duke together had above ninety thousand pounds a year salary; besides whatever else they pleased for themselves and the rest of their family: and had the insolence, as well as meanness, to refuse to pay any thing towards the tax upon Whitehall, which, being a sum certain, the rest of the queen's servants were obliged to pay it for them. They used every thing that belonged to the queen as if it had been their own; and the very linen that went with him every year to the army was furnished by her majesty. The duchess has asserted in her Memoirs, that the queen, after she came to the crown, never gave her a diamond, or any thing worth taking notice of. Lord Oxford told me, that after the battle of Blenheim, the queen presented her with the duke of Marlborough's picture, covered with a flat diamond that had brilliant edges, which cost eight thousand pounds. I myself did see, some years after the

1711. great economy and fidelity to the queen, and justice
 564 to those who dealt with the crown^a. The duchess of
 Somerset had the two first of these employments^b,
 and Mrs. Massam had the last^c.

queen's death, an advertisement in the newspapers, that such a diamond was in the hands of a Jew to be disposed of: therefore suppose her grace may not have it by her, and has forgot that, with many more such trifles, not worth taking notice of. But I suppose she could not meet with a chapman for so valuable a jewel, because I find by the codicil to her grace's will, she has left to her daughter, the duchess of Montague, a picture of her father covered with a large diamond. D.

^a Lord Cowper told me, he went at that time to the duke of Marlborough, and found him in bed, with a great deal of company in the chamber, and the duchess sitting at the bed-side, railing in a most extravagant manner against the queen, and said she had always hated and despised her; but that fool, her daughter Henrietta, (who stood by,) had always loved her, and did so still, which she should never forgive her. That surprised him very much, though he had heard more of her temper than he believed: but the duke told him, he must not mind what she said, for she was used to talk at that rate when she was in a passion, which was a thing she was very apt to fall into, and there was no way to help it. D. (This relation agrees

with the following extract from the MS. Minutes of lord Cowper, communicated by William Bragge, esq. together with a more important one taken from those Minutes, and already inserted at p. 426, folio edit.

" Oct. 14th, Saturday.

" Duchess of Marlborough
 " dined with me at Cole Green
 " from St. Alban's. Her opinion that the queen has no
 " original thoughts on any subject, is neither good nor bad,
 " but as she is put into; that
 " she has much love and passion for those who please,
 " and writes pretty affection-
 " ate letters, but does nothing
 " else well."

^b The duchess of Somerset was the best bred, as well as the best born lady in England. (*She was the daughter of the last Percy, earl of Northumberland.*) Her immense wealth in her younger days had occasioned great misfortunes to herself and other people, which concluded in her being married to the duke of Somerset, who treated her with little gratitude or affection, though he owed all he had, except an empty title, to her. She maintained her dignity at court, with great respect to the queen, and civility to all others. She was by much the greatest favourite, when the queen died; and it would have continued: for she thought herself justified in her

The house of commons found the encouragement 1711.
 given the Palatines was so displeasing to the people,

Complaints
 upon the
 favour
 shewed the
 Palatines.

favour to her, when she was ashamed of it elsewhere. Not long before the queen died, she told me she designed to leave some of her jewels to the queen of Sicily, (who was the only relation I ever heard her speak of with much tenderness,) and the rest to the duchess of Somerset, as the fittest person to wear them after her. Mrs. Danvers, who had served her mother, the duchess of York, and been about her from her infancy, told me, she never wondered at her favour to the duchess of Somerset, but always had to the duchess of Marlborough, who was the most the reverse of the queen that could have been found in the whole kingdom. D. This was the most prudent and best accepted thing that then was done by the ministers; for she was in all respects a credit and an ornament to the court. Yet afterwards she came to be in their displeasure, and they suffered her to be treated with the most indecent language by Swift, their tool, and the chief writer of their libels, who, with great parts of wit and style, had the most impudent and venomous pen of any man of this age. Proud, insolent, void of all decency, offensive to his friends almost as much as to his enemies; hating all men, and human nature itself; wanting to be a tyrant, to gratify his ambition and his disdain of the world; which he did obtain

over many by the awe of his satire and ridicule, and in that he was restrained by the consideration neither of age or sex, character or rank of any person whatsoever, who happened to fall within the rage of his generally false and sudden resentment. Even in his defences (as he called them) of religion, his manner of doing that created doubts of his own belief, and often fortified the unbelief of others. He was, from all that was known of him, of a very bad nature, and a very odious man; and, with all his great talents of writing, had certainly a very foul and corrupt imagination. His History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne is, except the style, a mean performance, and so deemed by every body. A few years before he died, he fell (as he had often foretold of himself) into a state of idiotcy, and was a sad and piteous sight. He left a good part of his fortune to the building and endowing of an hospital for persons in that miserable condition: a great charity in this world, and may it cover his sins in the world he is gone to! O. (It appears from Sheridan's Life of Swift, p. 147, cited by Somerville in his Hist. of Queen Anne, p. 551, that the duchess of Somerset, actuated by resentment against Swift for his having drawn her character with raillery and satire in the Windsor Prophecy, embraced

1711. that they ordered a committee to examine into that matter. The truth of this story was, that in the

every opportunity of infusing into the queen's mind the most unfavourable impressions of the doctor. Archbishop Sharp also did him ill offices, as it has been said, in the same quarter, on account of the freedom of his pen in the statement of religious controversies. Yet this very able, and, with some exceptions, very virtuous man, merited a much better character, than the speaker has vouchsafed him. His sound principles in politics, without reference to party, his scrupulous integrity, and unremitting attention to the interests of the poor, ought to have been recollected. To return to the duchess of Somerset; a curious account of the manner in which it was attempted by those about the queen's person to keep the duchess from her, is given in a pamphlet entitled *The Detection*, &c. and quoted by Oldmixon in his *Hist. of these Reigns*, p. 537. "Her majesty's esteem for the duchess of Somerset was such, that she not only continued her in her post of groom of the stole, but frequently sent for her, especially in the time of her illness; and having done this once or twice in this juncture, the message was not delivered: and when the lady came of herself to visit the queen, she was received with some coldness, and expected with about the reason of her non-attend-

ance. The truth was soon found out, that no message was delivered to the duchess, but the excuses made for it were admitted; yet the queen, from henceforward, when she wrote to the duchess at Petworth, or elsewhere remote from her, sent her letter by a particular messenger to the post-office, and always required a receipt for the delivery of it from the proper officer, that she might not for the future be imposed upon, when she had a mind to have that lady near her person." That the queen repressed every attempt to criminate the duchess, was generally known at that time.)

^c Mrs. Masham was an indigent relation of the duchess of Marlborough's, (had been a waiting-woman to a lady Rivers of Kent,) and put about the queen, as one she could trust. I had little conversation with her, nor was the queen pleased that any body should apply to her. I was desired to propose her husband's being made a lord, which I found was not very acceptable. The queen told me, she never had any design to make a great lady of her, and should lose a useful servant about her person: for it would give offence to have a peeress lie upon the floor, and do several other inferior offices; but at last consented, upon condition she remained a dresser, and did as

year 1708, about fifty Palatines, who were Lutherans, 1711.
and were ruined, came over to England : these were

she used to do. She was exceeding mean and vulgar in her manners, of a very unequal temper, childishly exceptious, and passionate. The queen told me, I was not in her good graces, (which I did not know before,) because I lived civilly with the duchess of Somerset; which, she said, she hoped I would continue, without minding the other's ill humours. At last she grew to be very rude and jealous, which I took no notice of; but the queen had a suspicion, that she or her sister listened at the door all the time I was with her; which, with some disrespect shown to the duchess of Somerset, gave her majesty some thoughts of making of her a lady of the bed-chamber, and laying of her down softly. She had credit enough to hurt lord Oxford, by which she destroyed her own foundation; and was senseless enough to fancy she had gained a great point, in having got rid of her surest friend and best support; but would soon have found the ill effects of her passion and folly, having received many a deep wound in the contest, and run her mistress into difficulties she could not well tell how to extricate herself out of, and must have been accommodated at her expense, though probably not in so gentle a manner as the queen proposed. D. (Was it then intended by the friends of lord Oxford, with

whom lady Masham had quarrelled, that she should be removed from the queen's presence by a parliamentary address, in the way formerly meditated by the whigs, and so much and so justly reprobated by these Tories? It is however asserted, that she had lately been guilty of some corrupt practices, which, if true, much alters the case. Mesnager, in his *Minutes of the Negotiations at the Court of England*, who had access to lady Masham, and represents her as zealous in the cause of the Pretender, expresses his wonder, that such mean things could be said of this lady, as had been published by some persons, and adds, that she appeared to him as worthy to be the favourite of a queen, as any woman he had ever conversed with. See page 290. And yet this same Mesnager, or rather perhaps his English editor and translator, in page 53 had said, that she was reported by those, who knew her well, to be haughty, subtle, revengeful; in a word, a person, whom those she had been serviceable to, spake much ill of, and no party much good. It is a curious circumstance, that the earl of Oxford, to whom, as well as the duchess of Marlborough, lady Masham was related, in a letter addressed to a Hanoverian nobleman only three months before the queen's death, assures his correspondent, that lady Masham,

1711. so effectually recommended to prince George's chaplains, that the queen allowed them a shilling a day, and took care to have them transported to the plantations: they, ravished with this good reception, wrote over such an account of it, as occasioned a general disposition among all the poor of that country to come over in search of better fortunes; and some of our merchants, who were concerned in the plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those desert countries, encouraged them with the promises of lands and settlements there. This being printed, and spread through those parts, they came to Holland in great bodies: the anabaptists there were particularly helpful to them, both in subsisting those in Holland, and in transporting them to England. Upon their coming over, the queen relieved them at first; and great charities were sent to support them: all the Tories declared against the good reception that was given them, as much as the Whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad season, for bread was then sold at double the ordinary price; so the poor complained, that such charities went to support strangers, when they needed them so much: the time of our fleet's sailing to the plantations was likewise at a great distance. The Palatines expected to be all kept together in a colony, and became very uneasy when they saw that could not be compassed: some of them were both unactive and mutinous; and this

the queen's favourite, was entirely for the protestant succession. He adds, he is sure, the queen is so; and before had observed respecting himself, that he might without

vanity assert, that he had the greatest hand in settling that succession. See Ellis's Second Series of Original Letters, vol. IV. p. 269.)

heightened the outcry against them: some papists 1711.
 mixed among them, and came over with them, but
 they were presently sent back. Great numbers were
 sent to Ireland^d; but most of them to the plantations
 in North America, where it is believed their industry
 will quickly turn to a good account. The design
 was now formed, to load the late administration all
 that was possible; so it was pretended, that in all
 that affair there was a design against the church,
 and to increase the numbers and strength of the dis-
 senters. It has indeed passed for an established
 maxim, in all ages and in all governments, that the
 drawing of numbers of people to any nation did in-
 crease its intrinsic strength; which is only to be
 measured by the multitude of the people that in-565
 habit and cultivate it: yet the house of commons
 came to a sudden vote, that those who had encour-
 aged and brought over the Palatines were enemies
 to the nation: and because a letter, wrote by the
 earl of Sunderland, in the queen's name, to the
 council of trade, was laid before them, by which
 they were ordered to consider of the best methods
 of disposing of them, it was moved to lay the load
 of that matter on him in some severe votes: yet this
 was put off for that time; and afterwards by several
 adjournments delayed, till at last it was let fall.

But while the heat raised by this inquiry was kept up, the commons passed a bill to repeal the act
 for a general naturalization of all protestants, which
 had passed two years before; pretending that it gave
 the encouragement to the Palatines to come over,
 though none of them had made use of that act in

^d (Above eight hundred families were sent to Ireland. See Somerville's History of Queen Anne, ch. xxiv. p. 527.)

1711. order to their naturalization. This was sent up to the lords ; and the lord Guernsey, and some others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the subject : yet, upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected. A bill, that was formerly often attempted, for disabling members of the house of commons to hold places, had the same fate.

A bill qualifying members to be chosen, passed.

Another bill for qualifying members, by having 600*l.* a year for a knight of the shire, and 300*l.* a year for a burgess, succeeded better : the design of this was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants from sitting in the house of commons, in hopes, that this being settled, the land interest would be the prevailing consideration in all their consultations. They did not extend these qualifications to Scotland ; it being pretended, that estates there being generally small, it would not be easy to find men so qualified capable to serve. This was thought to strike at an essential part of our constitution, touching the freedom of elections ; and it had been, as oft as it was attempted, opposed by the ministry, though it had a fair appearance of securing liberty, when all was lodged with men of estates : yet our gentry was become so ignorant and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this ; and that the interest of trade, which indeed supports that of the land, would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new ministers resolved to be popular with those who promoted it ; so it passed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our security for the future ^e.

An act for French wine.

Another bill passed, not much to the honour of

^e It was now a contrivance of Harley's, to make the country gentlemen of his party easy at the loss of the place bill. O.

those who promoted it, for the importation of the French wine: the interest of the nation lay against this so visibly, that nothing but the delicate palates of those who loved that liquor could have carried such a motion through the two houses. But though the bill passed, it was like to have no effect: for it was provided, that the wine should be imported in neutral vessels; and the king of France had forbid it to be exported in any vessels but his own: it seems he reckoned, that our desire of drinking his wine would carry us to take it on such terms as he should prescribe. In the house of commons there appeared a new combination of tories of the highest form, who thought the court was yet in some management with the whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him, and expressed their jealousy of him on several occasions, sometimes publicly^f. But an odd accident,

1711.

566

^f See antea, p. 563. (notes) O. This small party was set at work by the earl of Nottingham, with whom the duke of Shrewsbury, lord Paulett, Mr. Harley, Mr. St. Johns, and myself, had a conference at the earl of Rochester's: where he desired to know what we designed to do, for as yet, he said, we had done nothing. I said, I believed at the conclusion of the last session he would have thought the dissolving the parliament, and turning out all the whig ministers, something. He said, that was nothing, if we did not make it impracticable for them ever to rise again. The duke of Shrewsbury desired to know

by what means that should be accomplished. Lord Nottingham said, unless we prosecuted them, he should think we protected them; for it was plain, they had brought things to such a pass, that they could neither make peace nor war: and we were doing their work for them. I desired to know who he would have prosecuted: he said, lord Sunderland for one, and he was sure I could find matter enough in his office, if I pleased: I said, that should be some other body's work, not mine; and I knew the queen would never be brought into such measures. He got up, and as he went out, said, if we did not act in con-

1711. that had almost been fatal, proved happy to him ; it

An attempt
on Harley,
by Guis-
card.

fell out on the eighth of March, the day of the queen's accession to the crown : one Guiscard, who was an abbot^g in France, had for some enormous crimes made his escape out of that kingdom ; he printed a formal story of a design he was laying, to raise a general insurrection in the southern parts of France (in conjunction with those who were then in the Cevennes) for recovering their ancient liberties, as well as for restoring the edicts in favour of the Huguenots^h : and he seemed very zealous for public liberty. He insinuated himself so into the duke of Savoy, that he recommended him to our court, as a man capable of doing great service : he seemed forward to undertake any thing that he might be put on ; he had a pension assigned him for some years, but it did not answer his expense ; so when he was out of hope of getting it increased, he wrote to one at the court of France, to offer his service there ; and it was thought, he had a design against the queen's person ; for he had tried, by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to speak with her in private ; which he had attempted that very morning : but his letter being opened at the post-house, and brought to the cabinet council, a messenger was sent from the council to seize on him. He found him walking in St. James's park ; and having disarmed him, carried him to the lords, who

cert with the whigs, we should soon find the effects of our goodness. And from that day was most indefatigable in persecuting the queen and all her servants, with all the art that he was master of. D.

^g (He is said to have been

once abbot of Borli near the Cevennes.)

^h (His book was printed in 1707 ; in the title-page of which he is called, "*the Marquis de Guiscard, Lieutenant general of the forces, gone upon the pre-sent descent.*")

were then sitting: as he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a penknife which lay among pens in a standish; when he was questioned upon his letter, he desired to speak in private with secretary St. John, who refused it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas Harley sat near him, he struck him in the breast with the penknife, again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done with so small a tool. The other counsellors drew their swords, and stabbed Guiscard in several places; and their attendants being called in, they dragged him out. Harley's 567 wound was presently searched; it appeared to be a slight one, yet he was long in the surgeon's hands: some imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an artifice, to make it seem more dangerous than indeed it was. Guiscard's wounds were deeper, and not easily managed; for at first he was sullen, and seemed resolved to die; yet after a day, he submitted himself to the surgeons: but did not complain of a wound in his back till it gangrened; and of that he diedⁱ. It was not known what particulars were in his letter, for various reports went of it; nor was it known what he confessed^k.

("The messengers and doorkeepers rushing in, offered to lay hold on Guiscard; the latter struggled with them all, and overthrew some of his assailants; but Mr. Wilcox, the messenger, a stout, strong man, grappled with him, flung him, and gave him several bruises, particularly one in

"the back, which was afterwards judged to be the occasion of his death." Oldmixon's *History of These Reigns*, p. 460.)

^k If Guiscard had any design upon the queen, his heart failed him: for he had been with her the evening before, and nobody in the outer room but Mrs. Fielding, or within call but

1711. This accident was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one that was studying to recommend himself to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the queen's person. Her health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an

Mrs. Kirk, who was commonly asleep. The queen told me, he was very pressing for an augmentation of his pension, and complained that he was ill paid. He behaved himself with great confidence before the council, and denied every thing, till he was shewn one of his own letters, which he endeavoured to snatch out of lord Harcourt's hand. Having thrust himself between the duke of Ormond and Mr. Harley, in such a manner that he could easily have drawn the duke's sword, if he had not depended upon the other tool, (as the bishop calls it.) When Mr. St. John refused to speak with him, he bent down, as if he would have whispered with Mr. Harley, and gave him two or three violent blows upon the breast, before any body could stop him. When Bucier the surgeon came, Mr. Harley asked him, if he were in immediate danger, (the penknife having been broke in his body,) that he might settle his affairs, for he did not fear death:—which was visible by his countenance, which was not in the least altered. After Guiscard was carried into another room, he desired to speak with the duke of Ormond, which he re-

fused, unless I would go with him, which I did. He lamented Mr. Harley, who, he said, was truly a great man, and to whom he had many obligations; and several times repeated, that the duke of Marlborough was a lucky man. We asked him what he meant by that. He said, he had often designed to have done as much for him, and now it was fallen upon a man that he would be glad to be rid of. After he was in Newgate, the lords went to examine him: he said, it was to no purpose for him to confess any thing, for he could not expect a pardon. Two days after, he desired to speak with some of the council: he began a story of a man who, he said, had ill designs, but would not name him, and stopped short, and said it would make against himself, and rambled like a man that was lightheaded; upon which we left him. His correspondence with France seemed to be but of a late date, and his intelligence that he gave was of matter few of the cabinet had any knowledge of before they read his letters; and he was never asked who he had it from, the answer being evident. D.

ague; the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark¹. 1711.

The tories continued still to pursue the memory of king William; they complained of the grants made by him, though these were far short of those that had been made by king Charles the second; but that they might distinguish between those whom they intended to favour, and others, against whom they were set, they brought in a bill, empowering some persons to examine all the grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the considerations upon which they were made: this was the method that had succeeded with them before, with relation to Ireland; so the bringing in this bill was looked on as a sure step for carrying the resumption of all the grants that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the lords, the design appeared to be an unjust malice against the memory of our deliverer, and against those who had served him best; so, upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected.

Their malice turned next against the earl of Godolphin: they found, that the supplies given by

A design
against
king Wil-
liam's
grants mis-
carries.

Inquiries
into the
accounts.

¹ (That the queen's mind was much agitated about this time with apprehensions of danger from the resentment of the whigs, should appear, supposing the authority is to be relied on, from some remarkable communications made to Mesnager the French agent by a nobleman, whom he elsewhere represents as a Jacobite, and who is understood to have been the earl of Jersey. See Mesnager's Minutes of Negotiations, p. 166—171, 211. The

same writer says, he had been told that the queen was frequently thrown into fits, when questions of great importance came before parliament. It is but right to observe, that Lockhart of Carnwarth in his Commentaries, now at length published, refers to Mesnager's Negotiations as of authority, and mentions the attachment of the earl of Jersey to the cause of the Stuarts. See the Lockhart Papers, vol. I. p. 481.)

1711. parliament were not all returned, and the accounts of many millions were not yet passed in the exchequer; so they passed a vote, that the accounts of thirty-five millions yet stood out^m. This was a vast sum; but to make it up, some accounts in king Charles's time were thrown into the heap; the lord Ranelagh's accounts of the former reign were the greatest part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were so regularly brought up as in the queen's reign. Mr. Bridges's accounts of fourteen or fifteen millions were the great item; of which, 568 not above half a million was passed: but there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not passed in form, through the great caution and exactness of the duke of Newcastle, at whose office they were to pass; and he was very slow, and would allow nothing, without hearing counsel on every articleⁿ. The truth is, the methods of passing ac-

^m Sir Robert Walpole's answer to this charge is reckoned the best. He makes it appear, that the accounts of all but four millions were given in, and those not passed, only passed (*f. waited*) the slow but sure forms of the exchequer. H.

ⁿ He had the privy seal, to which a warrant came from the crown for the allowing such vouchers in the passing some articles, and considerable ones on these accounts, that by the strict rules of the exchequer could not be received without an authority under the privy seal at least, and if the lord privy seal doubts of the justice or prudence of such a warrant,

he ought not to pass it. And this, I suppose, was the reason of the duke's caution. However, a privy seal was afterwards obtained for it in this reign, whether in the duke's time, or his successor's, I cannot say; but the accounts were not fully passed at the time of the queen's death; for when the auditor (Mr. Edward Harley) brought them to my uncle, for his declaration of them, as chancellor of the exchequer, at the beginning of the next reign, he very properly, and as became his office, suggested to him a doubt in point of law, whether a privy seal in one reign could have any operation in another; upon which my un-

counts were so sure, that they were very slow ; and it was not possible for the proper officer to find time and leisure to pass the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the earl of Godolphin had managed the treasury with an uncorruptness, fidelity, and diligence, that were so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any

1711.

cle forbore the declaration, and the lawyers were of opinion a new privy seal was necessary. But when the new warrant came to the then lord privy seal, (the old marquis of Wharton,) he had the same cautions the duke of Newcastle had, and by the advice of Lechmere, his friend, and then solicitor general, he at last refused to put the seal to it. A privy seal was obtained afterwards from another keeper of it ; and under the next treasury the accounts were finally passed. I have heard, that the disputable vouchers were for the pay and subsistence of the forces in Spain and Portugal, where it was impossible to have such as the course of the exchequer requires. This Mr. Bridges was afterwards lord Chandos, by descent, and created by the late king (George the first) earl of Carnarvon, and then duke of Chandos. He was the most surprising instance of a change of fortune raised by a man himself, that has happened, I believe, in any age. When he came first into the office of paymaster of the army, he had little or no estate of his own, and never inherited more than a few hun-

dred pounds a year ; but by the means of this office, and the improvements of money, in little more than ten years, living expensively too in the mean while, he had accumulated a fortune of not less than six or seven hundred thousand pounds ; I have heard, more : and without any vices, or being at all addicted to pleasures, in the compass of about twenty-five years afterwards, he was reduced to almost the difficulties of indigence, by a course of extravagance in his expenditures, that had neither taste, nor use, nor sense in them. He was a bubble to every project, and a dupe to men that nobody else almost would keep company with. Yet with all this, he had parts of understanding and knowledge, experience of men and business, with a sedateness of mind and a gravity of deportment, which more qualified him for a wise man, than what the wisest men have generally been possessed with. He fell (for so indeed it should be called) pitted and lamented by all who knew him ; for a man of more true goodness of nature, or gentleness of manners, never lived. O.

1711. censure on his administration: yet, because many accounts stood out, they passed some angry votes on that: but since nothing had appeared in all the examination they had made that reflected on him, or on any of the whigs, they would not consent to the motion that was made for printing that report; for by that it would have appeared who had served well, and who had served ill.

When this session drew near an end, some were concerned to find, that a body chosen so much by the zeal and influence of the clergy should have done nothing for the good of the church; so it being apparent, that in the suburbs of London there were about 200,000 people more than could possibly worship God in the churches built there, upon a message to them from the queen, (to which the rise was given by an address to her from the convocation,) they voted that fifty more churches should be built; and laid the charge of it upon that part of the duty on coals that had been reserved for building of St. Paul's, which was now finished.

The dauphin's death, and the emperor's.

In the beginning of April, the dauphin and the emperor both died of the smallpox; the first on the third, the second on the sixth of the month: time will shew what influence the one or the other will have on public affairs. The electors were all resolved to choose king Charles emperor. A little before the emperor's death, two great affairs were fully settled; the differences between that court and the duke of Savoy were composed to the duke's satisfaction: the other was of more importance; offers of amnesty and concessions were sent to the malecontents in Hungary, with which they were so well satisfied, that a full peace was like to follow on it:

and, lest the news of the emperor's death should be any stop to that settlement, it was kept up from them, till a body of 10,000 came in and delivered up their arms, with the fort of Cassaw, and took an oath of obedience to king Charles, which was the first notice they had of Joseph's death. 1711.

The effects of this will probably go farther than 569 barely to the quieting of Hungary : for the king of Sweden, the Crim Tartar, and the agents of France, had so animated the Turks against the Muscovites, that though the sultan had no mind to engage in a new war, till the affairs of that empire should be put in a better state ; yet he was so apprehensive of the janizaries, that, much against his own inclinations, he was brought to declare war against the czar : but both the czar and he seemed inclined to accept the mediation that was offered by England and by the States ; to which very probably the Turks may the more easily be brought, when they see no hope of any advantage to be made from the distractions in Hungary.

It did not yet appear what would be undertaken on either side in Spain : king Philip had not yet opened the campaign ; but it was given out that great preparations were made for a siege : on the other hand, king Charles had great reinforcements sent him ; so that his force was reckoned not inferior to king Philip's : nor was it yet known what resolutions he had taken, since he received the news of the emperor's death.

The campaign was now opened on both sides in the Netherlands, though later than was intended : the season continued long so rainy, that all the ways in those parts were impracticable : nothing

1711. was yet attempted on either side ; both armies lay near one another ; and both were so well posted, that no attack was yet made : and this was the present state of affairs abroad at the end of May. At home, Mr. Harley was created earl of Oxford, and then made lord high treasurer, and had now the supreme favour °. The session of parliament was not yet at an end: there had been a great project carried on, for a trade into the South sea ; and a fund was projected, for paying the interest of nine millions, that were in arrear for our marine affairs.

The convocation met.

From our temporal concerns, I turn to give an account of those which related to the church: the convocation of the province of Canterbury was opened the 25th of November, the same day in which the parliament met: and Atterbury was chosen prolocutor. Soon after, the queen sent a license to the convocation, empowering them to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the

° Mr. Harley understood and loved the constitution, upon the ancient establishment of a legal, limited, hereditary monarchy; and came heartily into the revolution for its preservation. He had a thorough contempt for all scheme-makers, who, he said, were rogues or fools: either they did not understand its perfections, or had base ends of their own to pursue. He thought king William's reign after the death of queen Mary was a dangerous violation of the constitution, as tending to turn us into a commonwealth, or that which was worse, an elective kingdom: therefore was very solicitous for continuing the right of suc-

cession in the next qualified heir. But those whose true interest he aimed at did not understand the good he designed them; and he fell by the folly, pride, and ambition of his own tools, and the insatiable avarice and resentment of those that could not bear a four years cessation from plunder. He had, no doubt, his failings; but no man had more affectionate zeal for the interest of his country, or less for his own. His greatest fault was vanity; and his friendship was never to be depended upon, if it interfered with his other designs, though the sacrifice was to an enemy. D.

church required, and particularly to consider of such matters as she should lay before them; limiting them to a quorum, that the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, or the bishop of Bath and Wells should be present, and agree to their resolutions. With this license there was a letter directed to the archbishop, in which the convocation was ordered to lay before the queen an account of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy 570 among us; and to consider how to redress abuses in excommunications; how rural deans might be made more effectual; how terriers might be made and preserved more exactly; and how the abuses in licenses for marriage might be corrected.

In this whole matter, neither the archbishop nor any of the bishops were so much as consulted with; and some things in the license were new: the archbishop was not named the president of the convocation, as was usual in former licenses; and in these the archbishop's presence and consent alone was made necessary, except in case of sickness, and then the archbishop had named some bishops to preside, as his commissaries: and in that case the convocation was limited to his commissaries, which still lodged the presidentship and the negative with the archbishop: this was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the clergy of a province to do nothing without the consent of the metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard of, to limit the convocation to any of their own body who had no deputation from the archbishop. So a report of this being made by a committee that was appointed to search the records, it was laid before the queen: and she sent us a message to let us know, that she did not intend

1711.
 Exceptions
 to the li-
 cense sent
 them.

1711. that those whom she had named to be of the quorum, should either preside or have a negative upon our deliberations, though the contrary was plainly insinuated in the license. The archbishop was so ill of the gout, that after our first meetings he could come no more to us; so was the bishop of London: upon which, the bishop of Bath and Wells^p, seeing how invidiously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a stand, till a new license was sent us, in which the bishops of Winchester, Bristol, and St. David's^q, were added to be of the quorum. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before: so the queen not only passed over all the bishops made in king William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren. All this was directed by Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief minister; and because the other bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former ministry, it was thought fit to put marks of the queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear with whom her royal favour and trust was lodged.

A new
license.

A representation
drawn for
the queen.

571

The convocation entered on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the queen: and a committee was appointed to draw a representation of the present state of the church, and of religion among us; but after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: and he drew up a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administration from the time of the revolution: into this he brought many impious prin-

^p (Hooper.) ^q (Trelawney, Robinson, and Bisse.).

ciples and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the queen^r. The lower house agreed to his draught; but the bishops laid it aside, and ordered another representation to be drawn, in more general and more modest terms. It was not settled which of these draughts should be made use of, or whether any representation at all should be made to the queen: for it was known, that the design in asking one was only to have an aspersion cast, both on the former ministry and on the former reign. Several provisions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the queen's letter: but none of these were agreed to by both houses.

An incident happened, that diverted their thoughts to another matter: Mr. Whiston, the professor of mathematics in Cambridge, a learned man, of a sober and exemplary life, but much set on hunting for paradoxes, fell on the reviving the Arian heresy, though he pretended to differ from Arius in several particulars: yet upon the main he was partly Apollinarist, partly Arian; for he thought the *Nous* or *Word* was all the soul that acted in our Saviour's body. He found his notions favoured by the Apostolical Constitutions^s; so he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the canon of the scriptures. For these tenets he was censured at Cambridge, and expelled the university: upon that, he wrote a vindication of himself and his doctrine, and dedicated

Whiston
revived
Arianism.

^r (This is the complaint which the bishop, in p. 541, makes of the Defence of Dr. Sacheverel, in the body of which was introduced a collection of passages from impious and blasphemous publications, in order to evince the negligence and connivance of administration.)

^s (The pretended Apostolical Constitutions.)

1711. it to the convocation, promising a larger work on these subjects. The uncontested way of proceeding in such a case was, that the bishop of the diocese in which he lived should cite him into his court, in order to his conviction or censure, from whose sentence an appeal lay to the archbishop, and from him to the crown: or the archbishop might proceed in the first instance in a court of audience: but we saw no clear precedents of any proceedings in convocation, where the jurisdiction was contested; a reference made by the high commission to the convocation, where the party submitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in history; and even of this we had no record: so that it not being thought a clear warrant for our proceeding, we were at a stand. The act that settled the course of appeals in king Henry the eighth's time made no mention of sentences in convocation; and yet, by the act in the first of queen Elizabeth that 572 defined what should be judged heresy, that judgment was declared to be in the crown^t: by all this (which the archbishop laid before the bishops in a letter that he wrote to them on this occasion) it seemed doubtful, whether the convocation could in the first instance proceed against a man for heresy: and their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a *præmunire*. So the upper house, in an address, prayed the queen to ask the opinions of the judges, and such others as she thought fit, concerning these doubts, that they might know how the law stood in this matter^u.

^t (Compare what is said at the end of this page, 572. fol. ed.) to go to Lambeth, and acquaint the archbishop, that she thought

^u I was ordered by the queen it necessary that some censure

Eight of the judges, with the attorney and solicitor general, gave their opinion, that we had a jurisdiction, and might proceed in such a case; but brought no express law nor precedent to support their opinion: they only observed, that the law-books spoke of the convocation as having jurisdiction; and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: they were also of opinion, that an appeal lay from the sentence of convocation to the crown; but they reserved to themselves a power to change their mind, in case, upon an argument that might be made for a prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the judges were positively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the statutes made at the reformation. The queen, having received these different opinions, sent them to the archbishop, to be laid before the two houses of convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being

1711.
The different opinions of the judges concerning the power of the convocation.

should pass upon Whiston and his book, which gave great offence. He said, it was a bad book, and there were a great many, but the worst of all came from abroad; and wished there might some stop be put to that: I told him, there were bad books every where, but which did his grace mean? He said, there was one Bayle had wrote a naughty book about a comet, that did a great deal of harm. I told him, I had read it, and did not think there was much in it; the chief design being to prove that idolatry was worse than atheism, and that false worship was more offensive to God than

none. He said, indeed he had not read it, and I found by his discourse that he had not read Whiston's; which, I told him, struck at the essentials of the Christian religion. He said, there were some difficulties and disputes about prosecuting men for their opinions, and I never could prevail with him to tell me plainly, whether he would do what the queen desired of him, or no. But he afterwards sent me a very unintelligible letter, that concluded with excusing his not having wrote with his own hand, because he had the gout in both his feet. D.

1711. now no doubt to be made of our jurisdiction, she did expect that we should proceed in the matter before us. In this it was visible, that those who advised the queen to write that letter, considered more their own humours than her honour. Yet two great doubts still remained, even supposing we had a jurisdiction: the first was, of whom the court was to be composed; whether only of the bishops, or what share the lower house had in this judiciary authority: the other was, by what delegates, in case of an appeal, our sentence was to be examined: were no bishops to be in the court of delegates? Or was the sentence of the archbishop and his twenty-one suffragan bishops, with the clergy of the province, to be judged by the archbishop of York and his three suffragan bishops? These difficulties appearing to be so great, the bishops resolved to begin with that in which they had, by the queen's license, an undisputable authority; which was, to examine and censure the book, and to see if his doctrine was not contrary to the scriptures, and the first four general councils, which is the measure set by law to 573 judge heresy. They drew out some propositions from his book, which seemed plainly to be the reviving of Arianism; and censured them as such.

Whiston's
doctrines
condemned.

These they sent down to the lower house, who, though they excepted to one proposition, yet censured the rest in the same manner. This the archbishop (being then disabled by the gout) sent by one of the bishops to the queen for her assent, who promised to consider of it: but to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in winter, no answer being come from the queen, two bishops were sent to ask it; but she could not tell what was become

of the paper which the archbishop had sent her; 1711.
 so a new extract of the censure was again sent to her: but she has not yet thought fit to send any answer to it. So Whiston's affair sleeps, though he has published a large work in four volumes in octavo, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining the canonicalness of the Apostolical Constitutions, preferring their authority, not only to the epistles, but even to the gospels. In this last I do not find he has made any proselytes, though he has set himself much to support that paradox.

The lower house would not enter into the consideration of the representation sent down to them by the bishops; so none was agreed on to be presented to the queen: but both were printed, and severe reflections were made, in several tracts, on that which was drawn by the lower house, or rather by Atterbury. The bishops went through all the matters recommended to them by the queen; and drew up a scheme of regulations on them all: but neither were these agreed to by the lower house; for their spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the session of parliament and convocation came to an end.

The last thing settled by the parliament was, the creating a new fund for a trade in the South sea: An act for the South sea trade. there was a great debt upon the navy, occasioned partly by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the service at sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying such supplies as were given without appropriating clauses, to the service aboard^x; where

^x Not as *given without appropriating clauses*, for that was not so, but by virtue of some general words in the clauses of appropriation, used in times of war. And this should always be well looked after. O.

1711. it was impossible to carry it on by credit, without ready money, so it was judged necessary to let the debt of the navy run on upon credit: this had risen up to several millions; and the discount on the navy-bills ran high. All this debt was thrown into one stock; and a fund was formed for paying the interest at 6 per cent.

Reflections
on the old
ministry
fully clear-
ed.

The flatterers of the new ministers made great use of this, to magnify them, and to asperse the old ministry: but a full report of that matter was soon after published, by which it appeared, that the public money had been managed with the utmost fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that 574 when there was not money enough to answer all the expense of the war, it was necessary to apply it to that which pressed most, and where the service could not be carried on by credit: so this debt was contracted by an inevitable necessity; and all reasonable persons were fully satisfied with this account of the matter. The earl of Godolphin's unblemished integrity was such, that no imputation of any sort could be fastened on him; so, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expense he had run the nation into, upon the early successes in the year 1706; which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the succeeding session, as was formerly told: but that was now revived; and it was said to be an invasion of the great right of the commons in giving supplies, to enter on designs and to engage the nation in an expense not provided for by parliament^y. This was aggravated with many tragical expres-

^y It is a dangerous practice, and not to be justified, but by extreme and well proved neces-

sity. The house of commons should watch it well, for it is very apt to grow. O.

sions, as a subversion of the constitution: so with 1711.
 this, and that of the thirty-five millions, of which
 the accounts were not yet passed, and some other
 particulars, they made an inflaming address to the
 queen, at the end of the sessions. And this was arti-
 ficially spread through the nation, by which weaker
 minds were so possessed, that it was not easy to un-
 deceive them, even by the fullest and clearest evi-
 dences; the nation seemed still infatuated beyond
 the power of conviction. With this the session
 ended, and all considering persons had a very me-
 lancholy prospect, when they saw what might be
 apprehended from the two sessions that were yet
 to come of the same parliament.

I now turn to affairs abroad. The business of ^{Affairs in} Spain had been so much pressed from the throne,
 and so much insisted on all this session, and the
 commons had given 1,500,000*l.* for that service; (a
 sum far beyond all that had been granted in any
 preceding session;) so that it was expected matters
 would have been carried there in another manner
 than formerly. The duke of Argyle was sent to com-
 mand the queen's troops there, and he seemed full
 of heat: but all our hopes failed^z. The duke of

^z The duke of Argyle was
 brave beyond dispute, had a
 very graceful person, and a
 happy expression, though with
 more sharpness than was con-
 sistent with good nature, but
 could be very insinuating when
 he thought it worth his while.
 He had a boundless ambition,
 and an insatiable thirst after
 wealth. He got more in the
 four last years of queen Anne,
 than all the rest of her ser-
 vants put together; which was
 no obstacle to his treating her
 and them in a very injurious
 manner after her death. His
 brother, the earl of Islay, had
 all his bad qualities, without
 one of his good: they both
 valued themselves for knowing
 when was the proper time to
 break with an old minister,
 and make their court to a new,
 without any sort of regard to
 gratitude or friendship, if either

1711. Vendome's army was in so ill a condition, that if Starembergh had been supported, he promised himself great advantages: it does not yet appear what made this to fail; for the parliament has not yet taken this into examination. It is certain the duke of Argyle did nothing; neither he nor his troops were once named during the whole campaign; he wrote over very heavy complaints, that he was not supported, by the failing of the remittances that he expected: but what ground there was for that does not yet appear: for though he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed in a good understanding with the ministers. Starembergh drew out
 575 his forces; and the two armies lay for some time looking on one another, without coming to any action: Vendome ordered a siege to be laid to two small places, but without success. That of Cardona was persisted in obstinately, till near the end of December, and then Starembergh sent some bodies to raise the siege, who succeeded so well in their attempt, that they killed 2000 of the besiegers, and forced their camp; so that they not only raised the siege, but made themselves masters of the enemies' artillery, ammuni-
 tion, and baggage; and the duke of Vendome's army was so diminished, that if Starembergh had received the assistance which he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain. But we did nothing, after all the zeal

stood in their way. The duke would sometimes espouse other people's interests with great zeal and importunity, if he thought they could be of any use to himself: and never asked for one thing without a view

to another; though there were few days in the year, in which he had not some request to make, or rather demand, for they were commonly asked in a very imperious style. D.

we had expressed for retrieving matters on that side. 1711.

The emperor's death, as it presently opened to king Charles the succession to the hereditary dominions, so a disposition appeared unanimously among all the electors, to choose him emperor: yet he stayed in Barcelona till September; and then, leaving his queen behind, to support his affairs in Spain, he sailed over to Italy: he stayed some weeks at Milan, where the duke of Savoy came to him; and we were told that all matters in debate were adjusted between them. We hoped this campaign would have produced somewhat in those parts of advantage to the common cause, upon the agreement made before the emperor Joseph's death. And Mr. St. John, when he moved in the house of commons for the subsidies to the duke of Savoy, said, all our hopes of success this year lay in that quarter; for in Flanders we could do nothing. The duke came into Savoy, and it was given out that he was resolved to press forward; but, upon what views it was not then known, he stopped his course; and after a short campaign, repassed the mountains.

The election of the emperor came on at Francfort, where some electors came in person, others sent their deputies; some weeks were spent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive deputies from the electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but they were rejected, for they were under the ban of the empire; nor were they pleased with the interposition of the pope's nuntio, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they persisted in refusing to admit them. Francfort lay so near the frontier of the empire, that it

The election of king Charles to be emperor.

1711. was apprehended the French might have made an attempt that way ; for they drew some detachments from their army in Flanders, to increase their forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene, after he, in conjunction with the duke of Marlborough, had opened the campaign in Flanders, to draw off a 576 detachment from thence, and march with it towards the Rhine ; and there he commanded the imperial army ; and came in good time to secure the electors at Francfort ; who, being now safe from the fear of any insult, went on slowly in all that they thought fit to propose previous to an election ; and concluded unanimously to choose Charles, who was now declared emperor by the name of Charles the sixth : he went from Milan to Inspruck, and from thence to Francfort, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign.

The duke of Marlborough passed the French lines.

The duke of Marlborough's army was not only weakened by the detachment that prince Eugene carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 men of the best bodies of his army, for an expedition designed by sea ; so that the French were superior to him in number : they lay behind lines, that were looked on as so strong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing ; and it was said, that Villars had wrote to the French king, that he had put a *ne plus ultra* to the duke of Marlborough : but, contrary to all expectation, he did so amuse Villars with feint motions, that at last, to the surprise of all Europe, he passed the lines near Bouchain without the loss of a man.

This raised his character beyond all that he had

done formerly ; the design was so well laid, and was 1711.
 so happily executed, that, in all men's opinions, it
 passed for a masterpiece of military skill ; the ho-
 nour of it falling entirely on the duke of Marlbo-
 rough, no other person having any share, except in
 the execution. When our army was now so hap-
 pily got within the French lines, the Dutch depu-
 ties proposed the attacking the French, and ventur-
 ing a battle, since this surprise had put them in no
 small disorder. The duke of Marlborough differed
 from them ; he thought there might be too much
 danger in that attempt ; the army was much fa-
 tired with so long a march, in which their cavalry
 had been eight and forty hours on horseback, alight-
 ing only twice, about an hour at a time, to feed their
 horses ; for they marched eleven leagues in one
 day : the French were fresh ; and our army was
 in no condition to enter upon action, till some time
 was allowed for refreshment : and the duke of Marl-
 borough thought, that, in case of a misfortune, their
 being within the French lines might be fatal ^a.

He proposed the besieging Bouchain ; which he He besieged
Bouchain.
 thought might oblige the French to endeavour to
 raise the siege ; and that might give occasion to
 their fighting on more equal terms ; or it would
 bring both a disreputation and a disheartening on
 their army, if a place of such importance should be
 taken in their sight : both the Dutch deputies and
 the general officers thought the design was too bold,

^a Lord Cobham used to
 blame the duke of Marlborough
 for not fighting, and said it was
 the opinion of all the *general*
officers to risk a battle ; he im-
 puted this unusual backward-

ness of the duke to some poli-
 tical cause. The duke enlarges
 more than usual on his reasons
 for not doing it, in a letter to
 secretary St. John, now in the
 Paper Office. H.

1711. yet they submitted to him in the matter : it seemed impracticable to take a place situated in a morass, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, in the sight of a superior army ; for the French lay within a mile of them : there was also great danger from the excursions that the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé might make, to cut off their provisions, which were to come to them from Tournay. All about the duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking ; since a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his enemies with the advantages that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it : the French tried to throw more men into the place, by a narrow causeway through the morass, but he took his measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing : he saw what the event of the siege might be ; so he bestirred himself with unusual application, and was more fatigued in the course of this siege, than he had been at any time during the whole war. He carried on the trenches, and by his batteries and bombs the place was soon laid in ruins. Villars seemed to be very busy, but to no purpose ; yet, seeing he could not raise the siege, he tried to surprise Daway ; but they discovered the design, and forced the body that was sent thither to retreat in all haste. After twenty days from the opening the trenches, the garrison of Bouchain capitulated ; and could have no better terms than to be made prisoners of war. As this was reckoned the most extraordinary thing in the whole history of the war, so the honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the duke of Marlborough ; as the blame of a mis-

And took it.

carriage in it must have fallen singly on him. Villars's conduct on this occasion was much censured; but it was approved by the king of France^b: and with this the campaign ended in those parts. 1711.

No action happened at sea, for the French had no fleet out: an expedition was designed by sea for taking Quebec and Placentia; and for that end 5000 men were brought from Flanders: Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a strong squadron of men of war ordered to secure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions only for three months; but they designed to take in a second supply at New England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them be sent out so ill furnished; for they had stores lying on their hands for a full supply. They sailed soon after the end of the session, and had a quick passage to New England; but were forced to stay many weeks on that coast, before they could be supplied with provisions: they sailed near the end of August into the river of Canada, which was thirty miles broad: but they were ill served with pilots; and at that season storms were ordinary in those parts: one of these broke upon them, by which several ships were over-set, and about 2500 men were lost^c. Thus the de-

An expedition by sea to Canada.

It miscarried.

^b ("The king ordered the mareschal de Villars, who commanded them, to avoid a battle, if possible, and only to lie in such a posture, as to cover those two cities, viz. Cambray and Arras, and that then the duke of Marlborough might do his worst." Mesnager's *Minutes of Negoti-*

ations, p. 69. See also p. 111. This writer represents the king of France as calculating on the then state of affairs in England.)

^c (The author of the *Life and Reign of Queen Anne* asserts, page 752, that no other writer but the bishop has made the number more than eight

1711. sign of Quebec miscarried; and their provisions were too scanty to venture an attempt on Placentia: so they returned home unprosperous ^d.

This was a great mortification to the new ministry; it being their first undertaking, ill projected, and worse executed, in every step of it ^e: it was the more liable to censure, because at the very time that the old ministry were charged with entering on designs that had not been laid before the parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a session was yet going on, without communicating it to the parliament; whereas, what the former ministry had done this way, was upon emergents and successes after the end of the session: but this matter has not yet been brought under a parliamentary examination, so the discoveries that may be made, if that happens, must be referred to their proper place. This was the state of our affairs during this campaign: the merchants complained of great losses made at sea, by the ill management of convoys and cruizers.

Affairs in
Turkey.

The war between the Turk and the czar came to

hundred. And the admiral, sir Hoveden Walker, in his account of the expedition, makes the loss about that number. See Tindal and Oldmixon's Histories.)

^d The management of this expedition was put into very unable hands, and the delay at New England spoiled the whole design; the ministry were certainly in earnest about it, and the strength was adequate to the design. H.

^e If it was ill projected, it was so by the old ministers:

for I wrote many letters about it, the year before, by their order: and it was then stopped, after great expense and trouble, upon a representation from the admiralty, that it was too late in the year; which I understood the duke of Marlborough was much displeased at, the design being laid by himself; and I suppose the good bishop, if he had known that, would have shortened his remarks upon a subject so much out of his own sphere. D.

a quick end: the czar advanced with his army so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from his provisions: an engagement followed, in which both sides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain the czar found he was reduced to great extremities; for he proposed, in order to a peace, to surrender Azuph, with some other places, and demanded that the king of Sweden might be sent home to his own country. The grand vizier was glad to arrive at so speedy a conclusion of the war; and, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the king of Sweden, he concluded a peace with the Muscovite, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by money to it. The king of Sweden being highly offended at this, charged the grand vizier for neglecting the great advantages he had over the czar, since he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed so far at the Porte, that upon it the grand vizier was deposed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year: for the czar delayed the rendering Azuph and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the king of Sweden was not sent home, according to agreement; yet to prevent a new war, all the places were at length delivered up: what effect this may have must be left to farther time.

Towards the end of the year the Danes and Saxons broke in by concert upon Pomerania, resolving to besiege Stralzund; but every thing necessary for a siege came so slowly from Denmark, that no progress was made, though the troops lay near the place for some months; and in that time the Swedes landed a considerable body of men in the isle of Rugen: at last the besiegers, being in want of every

And in Pomerania.

1711. thing, were forced to raise the siege, and to retire from that neighbourhood in the beginning of January. They sat down next before Wismar, but that attempt likewise miscarried, which rendered the conduct of the king of Denmark very contemptible; who thus obstinately carried on a war (at a time that a plague swept away a third part of the people of Copenhagen) with as little conduct as success. Having thus given a short view of affairs abroad;

Harley
made an
earl, and
lord trea-
surer.

I come next to give the best account I can, of a secret and important transaction at home: the ministers now found how hard it was to restore credit, and, by consequence, to carry on the war; Mr. Harley's wound gave the queen the occasion which she seemed to be waiting for; upon his recovery she had created him an earl, by a double title, of Oxford and Mortimer. Preambles to patents of honour usually carry in them a short account of the dignity of the family, and of the services of the person advanced: but his preamble was very pompous, and set him out in the most extravagant characters that flatterers could invent; in particular it said, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had restored credit, and had rendered the public great service in a course of many years: all this was set out in too fulsome rhetoric, and being prepared by his own direction, pleased him so much, that whereas all other patents had been only read in the house of lords, this was printed. He was at the same time made lord treasurer, and became the chief, if not sole minister, for every thing was directed by him. It soon appeared, that his strength lay in managing parties, and in engaging weak people, by rewards and promises, to depend upon him; but that he neither tho-

roughly understood the business of the treasury^f, 1711.
nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he trusted
to his interest in the queen and in the favourite.

He saw the load that the carrying on the war must bring upon him; so he resolved to strike up a peace as soon as was possible. The earl of Jersey had some correspondence in Paris and at St. Germain's^g, so he trusted the conduct of the negotiation to him^h. The duke of Newcastleⁱ, who was lord privy seal, died of an apoplexy in July, being the richest subject that had been in England for some ages; he had an estate of above 40,000*l.* a year, and was much set on increasing it. Upon his death, it was resolved to give the earl of Jersey the privy seal; but he died suddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that, it was conferred on Robinson, bishop of Bristol, who was designed to be the plenipotentiary in the treaty that was projected. One Prior, who

Negotiations for a peace with France.

^f The people of that office say otherwise, and that the business there was carried on by him with great exactness. O. Mr. Pelham (who cannot be supposed to have any partiality to the earl of Oxford) has said frequently, that, in his administration of the treasury, he was the most exact and attentive minister that ever presided at the head of it. And has preferred his management and economy at the board to sir Robert Walpole's. H. (Lord Hardwicke, in a former note at p. 271, folio edit. relates, that the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham's brother, preferred lord Godolphin's administration of the treasury to that

of the earl of Oxford.)

^g (Invidiously observed: for if lord Jersey did correspond with the court of St. Germain's, as the bishop and his friends suspected, yet Harley was attached to the succession of the house of Hanover, settled by the bill he had introduced.)

^h The best account of the rise and progress of this private negotiation between the two courts is in Torcy's *Memoirs*, vol. III. I do not think, however, that the French minister tells the whole of what passed that was material in the sequel of the negotiation, particularly at Paris, which was under his own eyes. H.

ⁱ (Hollis, or Holles.)

1711. had been Jersey's secretary^k, upon his death was employed to prosecute that which the other did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern by the earl of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace; and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature^l: he was sent to the court of France in September, to try on what terms we might expect a peace; his journey was carried on secretly; but upon his return, he was stopped at Dover; and a packet that he brought was kept, till an order came from court to set him free: and by this accident the secret broke out^m. Soon after that, one Mesnager was sent over from France with preliminariesⁿ; but very different from those that had been concerted at the Hague two years before.

Preliminaries offered by France.

By these the king of France offered to acknowledge the queen, and the succession to the crown, according to the present settlement; and that he would *bona fide* enter into such measures, that the

^k (When ambassador in France; and before this, he had been secretary to the earl of Portland, ambassador, as well as the other earl, in that kingdom. See *Translation of Torcy's Mémoires*, vol. II. p. 127. Prior had also been a commissioner of trade and plantations.)

^l Malice. S. (The earl sent him to St. John's college, Cambridge; but he had been previously educated at Westminster under Dr. Busby, at the expense of his uncle, who was a vintner. See *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*.)

^m (Compare Mesnager's Mi-

notes, p. 191; and the *History of Prior's Negotiations*, p. 348.)

ⁿ (He had been in England in the preceding year, sent as a spy or agent for France, with particular instructions to make proposals for a peace. See his *Minutes of Negotiations*, pp. 81, 109, 117, &c. Lord Bolingbroke, in the course of the negotiations for peace, was of opinion, that Mesnager shewed his partiality for the Dutch. At p. 214 of the second volume of his *Letters*, lately published, his lordship says, that Mesnager is a little fellow, and a Dutchman in his inclinations.)

crowns of France and Spain should never belong to the same person; that he would settle a safe and proper barrier to all the allies; that he would raze Dunkirk, provided an equivalent should be given for destroying the fortifications he had made there at so great an expense; and that he would procure both to England and to the States the reestablishing of their commerce. The court was then at Windsor: these propositions were so well entertained at our court, that a copy of them was ordered to be given to count Gallas, the emperor's minister: he treated these offers with much scorn, and printed the preliminaries in one of our newspapers; soon after that, he was ordered to come no more to court, but to make haste out of England. 1711.

The proceeding was severe and unusual; for the common method, when a provocation was given by a public minister, was to complain of him to his master, and to desire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded: that which was surmised was, that his secretary Gaultier (who was a priest) betrayed him, and discovered his secret correspondence, and the advertisements he sent the emperor, to give him ill impressions of our court; for which treachery he was rewarded with an abbey in France: but of this I have no certain information °.

° This reverend prelate has always something of truth, to make that which is not so, pass the better. Abbé Gaultier had been a priest in count Gallas's house, but long out of his family before this happened. There were other ways of knowing that count Gallas had

as regular a council at Leicester house, of the queen's own subjects, as she had at St. James's; who drew up all his memorials; and had a press in his own house for printing all the scandal that was too dangerous to be published any other way. He was treated

1711.

581

Earl of
Strafford
sent ambas-
sador to
Holland.

When our court was resolved on this project, they knew the lord Townshend so well, that they could not depend on his serving their ends; so he was both recalled and disgraced: and the lord Raby was brought from the court of Prussia, and advanced to be earl of Strafford, and sent ambassador to Holland. It was not then known, how far our court carried the negotiations with France; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of these preliminaries, as a foundation for a treaty to be opened upon them, or if any private promise or treaty was signed: this last was very positively given out both in France and Spain. The very treating, without the concurrence of our allies, was certainly an open violation of our alliances, which had expressly provided against any such negotiation ^P.

with more respect than he had reason to expect. All that prince Eugene said for him, (when he was in England,) was, that he meant well; but did not pretend to justify his conduct, and thanked me in particular for my civility to him upon that occasion. But I have some reason to believe, the good bishop knew better what his practices were, than he did the means by which they were discovered. I was ordered to acquaint all the foreign ministers, that he had done many things dishonourable to her majesty's person, prejudicial to her government, and tending to make a misunderstanding between her and the emperor. D. (Compare Swift's Four last Years of the Queen, p. 133—157; and the Lord Bolingbroke's Letters and

Correspondence, lately published, vol. I. pp. 422, 449, 476.)

^P Mr. Buys, the Dutch envoy, was of a very different opinion, who told the lords at the cockpit, that he thought, as the queen and the States had borne the chief burden of the war, they had a right to adjust the interests of the rest of the allies; who answered, in the queen's name, that as she would not suffer any body to regulate her pretensions, so she would not take upon her to determine those of her allies, unless they desired it: in which case she would do them the best offices she could; but did not think, there was never to be an end of the war, if they insisted upon unreasonable terms; which he agreed, was but reason. D.

Many mercenary pens were set on work, to justify 1711.
 our proceedings, and to defame our allies, more particularly the Dutch: this was done with much art, ^{Many libels against the allies.} but with no regard to truth^q, in a pamphlet entitled the *Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry*; to which very full answers were written, detecting the thread of falsehood that ran through that work^r. It was now said, England was so exhausted, that it was impossible to carry on the war: and

^q It was all true. S. ("Swift's
 " pamphlet upon the Conduct
 " of the Allies was read by all
 " ranks with the utmost avid-
 " ity; and not only produced
 " conviction, but excited a ge-
 " neral indignation against the
 " late ministers and the allies.
 " It passed through seven edi-
 " tions; and eleven thousand
 " copies were sold in less than
 " a month. Life of Swift, page
 " 91." *Somerville's History of*
Queen Anne, ch. xix. p. 474,
 note.)

^r Written by St. John and
 Swift. O. Certainly the bishop
 was thinking of some of his
 own performances, when he
 thought there was a thread of
 falsehood that ran through the
 work. The pamphlet he men-
 tions was a bare recital of mat-
 ter of fact, known to be true,
 or easily to be proved so, and
 was yet never answered with
 truth, or ever can. The bishop
 had good reason to dislike it,
 because it contained a full an-
 swer to most of his malicious
 insinuations and wilful misre-
 presentations. D. ("The fact
 " seems to have been this: al-
 " though, by the grand alli-

" ance between England, the
 " empire, and Holland, the for-
 " mer was bound to assist the
 " other two with its utmost
 " force by sea and land, yet,
 " by a subsequent convention,
 " the proportion which the se-
 " veral parties were to contri-
 " bute towards the war, was
 " adjusted in the following
 " manner: the emperor was
 " obliged to furnish ninety
 " thousand men against France,
 " Holland to bring sixty thou-
 " sand into the field, and Eng-
 " land forty thousand. In the
 " progress of the war, the
 " quotas of the allies were di-
 " minished, and those of Eng-
 " land augmented; and when
 " this was complained of, the
 " former defended themselves
 " upon the general terms of
 " the first convention: and
 " though the existence of the
 " latter was notorious, and ac-
 " knowledged, yet it is re-
 " markable, when a search
 " was made for it by the tory
 " ministry, no copy of it could
 " be found. History of the
 " Four last Years, page 148."
Somerville's History of Queen
Anne, ch. xix. p. 464.)

1711. when king Charles was chosen emperor, it was also said, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbours, if Spain were joined to the emperor and to the hereditary dominions^s: it was also zealously, though most falsely, infused into the minds of the people, that our allies, most particularly the Dutch, had imposed on us, and failed us on many occasions. The Jacobites did with the greater joy entertain this prospect of peace, because the dauphin had, in a visit to St. Germain's, congratulated that court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect with relation to the pretender's affairs^t.

Earl Rivers
sent to
Hanover,
but suc-
ceeded not.

Our court denied this; and sent the earl of Rivers to Hanover, to assure the elector, that the queen would take especial care to have the succession to the crown secured to his family by the treaty that was to be opened. This made little impression on that elector; for he saw clearly, that if Spain and the West Indies were left to king Philip, the French

^s (Was not this justly apprehended? See lord Dartmouth's note below, at p. 583, fol. ed.)

^t The queen hated and despised the pretender, to my knowledge. S. (Compare Swift's Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry, page 66; and lord Dartmouth's note above, at p. 564, fol. ed. From the whole of the statement of Mesnager's transactions with the lady Masham in favour of the pretender, it appears, that she was afraid even to propose to her majesty any thing of this nature, which should commit the queen herself. See his Minutes from p. 245 to the end

of the volume. Consult also p. 209. It may also be remarked, that in the Correspondence of Lord Bolingbroke just mentioned, there are no vestiges of any intrigues of the ministry, supposing that they ever existed, in favour of the family of Stuart. And consult notes on the first volume of Burnet's Hist. pp. 780, 800, fol. edit. Swift, like his friend the earl of Oxford, was firmly, at this time at least, attached to the Hanover succession. Amongst numerous proofs of this fact, to be found in his other works, see the 36th number of the Examiner.)

would soon become the superior power to all the rest of Europe; that France would keep Spain in subjection; and by the wealth they would fetch from the Indies, they would give law to all about them, and set what king they pleased on the throne of England^u. Earl Rivers stayed a few days there, and brought an answer from the elector in writing: yet the elector apprehended, not without reason, that it might be stifled^x; therefore he ordered his minister to give a full memorial to the same purpose, of which our court took no notice: but the memorial was translated and printed here, to the great satisfaction of all those who were afraid of the ill designs that might be hid under the pretence of the treaty then proposed. 1711. 582

The earl of Strafford pressed the States to comply with the queen's desire of opening a treaty: they answered very slowly, being desirous to see how the parliament was inclined; but the parliament was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of November, and from that to the 7th of December. It was also reported in Holland, that the earl of Strafford (seeing the States slow in granting the passports, and upon that apprehending these delays flowed from their expecting to see how the parliament of England approved of these steps) told them plainly, that till they agreed to a treaty, and granted the pass-

The States
are forced
to open a
treaty.

^u (Did this prove to be the case?)

^x (According to Oldmixon's account, it was concealed from the queen by her ministers. "Mr. St. John," he says, "and his colleagues, would have stifled this memorial, had it been in their power. They

"suffered it to be said in print, "that it was not genuine. And "when the duchess of Somerset shewed it in print to the queen, it had not been laid before her by her trusty secretary St. John." Oldmixon's *History of these Reigns*, p. 478.)

1711. ports, the session should not be opened: so they granted them, and left the time and place of treaty to the queen's determination. She named Utrecht as the place of congress, and the first of January O.S. for opening it; and wrote a circular letter to all the allies, inviting them to send plenipotentiaries to that place. The emperor set himself vehemently to oppose the progress of this matter; he sent prince Eugene to dissuade the States from agreeing to it, and offered a new scheme of the war, that should be easier to the allies, and lie heavier on himself: but the passports were now sent to the court of France; that court demanded passports likewise for the plenipotentiaries of king Philip, and of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne: this was offered by our court to the States; they refused it, but whether our ministers then agreed to it, or not, I cannot tell.

Endeavours
used by the
court be-
fore they
opened the
parliament.

Before the opening the session, pains were taken on many persons to persuade them to agree to the measures the court were in^y: the duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the queen against the steps that were already made; but he found her so possessed, that what he said

^y (Oldmixon in his History, on what authority he does not mention, reports, that the queen closetted at this time the dukes of Grafton, Marlborough, and St. Alban's, the earls of Dorset and Scarborough, the lords Somers, Cowper, and others, in order to detach them from their resolutions, but without effect. p. 479. This measure corresponded with Harley's first plan of an administration to be composed of members of both

parties; and had the queen succeeded in her applications, she would in that case have made no further changes according to her declaration mentioned above by Burnet. But the whig party insisted on the dismission of Harley from office, and on retaining the existing parliament; the former of which proposals was rejected by the queen, and the latter disagreed with Harley's politics.)

made no impression; so he desired to be excused 1711.
 from coming to council, since he must oppose every
 step that was made in that affair ^z. Among others,
 the queen spoke to myself; she said, she hoped bi-
 shops would not be against peace ^a. I said, a good
 peace was what we prayed daily for, but the preli-
 minaries offered by France gave no hopes of such an
 one; and the trusting to the king of France's faith,
 after all that had passed, would seem a strange
 thing. She said, we were not to regard the preli-
 minaries; we should have a peace upon such a bot-
 tom, that we should not at all rely on the king
 of France's word; but we ought to suspend our 583
 opinions, till she acquainted us with the whole mat-
 ter. I asked leave to speak my mind plainly; which

^z Mr. Richard Hill told me, the duke of Marlborough knew the queen had a very good opinion of me, and thought I was less engaged in party than any of her servants, therefore desired I would have the goodness to represent the inexpressible affliction it was to him to lie under her majesty's displeasure, for whom he had the utmost gratitude and duty: that he did not pretend to justify his own behaviour in all particulars, much less his wife's; but as they were, and ought to be, her creatures, desired she would dispose of them any way she thought most for her service; which should be entirely submitted to, though she should think proper to have them transplanted to the West Indies. The queen ordered me to tell Mr Hill, that she never designed to shew any disfavour

to the duke of Marlborough, unless he forced her to do it; but could not think his professions sincere, as long as he set himself at the head of a party, to oppose every thing that was for her service. Next day there was a report all over London, that the queen had made proposals to the duke, which he had rejected, though Mr. Hill professed most solemnly to me, that he never spoke of any thing that passed upon that occasion to any body living but the duke himself. D.

^a (Her majesty's mind was earnestly and anxiously set on a peace. She said to Mesnager, the French negotiator, *It is a good work, pray God prosper you in it; I am sure I long for peace. I hate this dreadful work of blood.* See Mesnager's *Minutes of Negotiations at the Court of England*, p. 134.)

1711. she granted : I said, any treaty by which Spain and the West Indies were left to king Philip, must in a little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of France ; and, if any such peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined ; in less than three years' time she would be murdered, and the fires would be again raised in Smithfield^b : I pursued this long, till I saw she grew uneasy ; so I withdrew.

The queen's
speech to
the two
houses.

On the seventh of December she opened the parliament : in her speech she said, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place were appointed for treating a general peace : her allies, especially the States, had by their ready concurrence expressed an entire confidence in her ; and she promised to do her utmost to procure reasonable satisfaction to them all : she demanded of the house of commons the necessary supplies for carrying on the war ; and hoped that none would envy her the glory of ending it by a just and honourable peace ; she in particular recommended unanimity, that our enemies might not think us a divided people, which might prevent that good peace, of which she had such reasonable hopes, and so near a view.

Reflections
on it.

The speech gave occasion to many reflections : *the arts of those who delighted in war* seemed to be levelled at the duke of Marlborough and the preliminaries concerted at the Hague ; her saying, that the allies reposed an entire confidence in her, amazed all those who knew, that neither the emperor nor the empire had agreed to the congress, but were opposing it with great vehemence ; and

^b A false prophet in every particular. S.

that even the States were far from being cordial or 1711.
easy in the steps that they had made^c.

After the speech, a motion was made in the house of lords, to make an address of thanks to the queen for her speech; upon this the earl of Nottingham^d Earl of Nottingham moved, that no peace could

^c ("It is evident, that by our allies here, the queen meant the Dutch, who had written her a letter to this effect; and no one could suppose that the queen meant the emperor in this case, who had publicly declared against the treaty, which no man in England was ignorant of." *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 754. But the bishop's censure is borne out by the language of the queen's speech, although artfully worded, who thus expressed herself: "Our allies, especially the States general, whose interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have by their ready concurrence exprest their entire confidence in me.")

^d He left the tories very soon after the change of the ministry, and joined very earnestly with the whigs in their opposition to the court-measures, for which he was most scurrilously treated by Swift. It was thought he hated Harley, who had succeeded him as secretary of state, upon the plan of a more moderate tory administration, and of the new men being then more inclined to the measures of the duke of Marlborough and the treasurer. See antea, 381. Upon the late king's (George I.) accession,

the earl of Nottingham, in reward of his then merit with the whigs, was brought into the ministry as one of them. He was made lord president, and procured an earldom, and the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, for his brother the lord Guernsey; and some others of his family had their share of favour, out of regard chiefly to him. But neither he nor they held their offices long. He and they were all removed upon his pressing in the house of lords and elsewhere, as it was said, with too much earnestness and passion, to have the lives of those lords spared who had been convicted in parliament for the rebellion (in 1715). After this he forbore any very active part in public affairs, and lived a good part of his time in the country, hospitably and friendly to all, and then wrote or finished his famous book upon the Trinity, which did so much recover him with the clergy, that addresses of thanks were made to him for it from bodies of them in almost every part of England. And this was the last of his church glories. He and his brother before mentioned had, by the credit of their father, been in the business of the world from their youth, and came early into considerable employments. They

1711. did very copiously set forth the necessity of having Spain and the West Indies out of the hands of a

be safe, unless Spain and the West Indies were taken from the house of Bourbon.

had parts, and knowledge, and eloquence, (as it was called,) but different from those of every body else. Their peculiarities did often subject them to some ridicule, and became proverbial. They were however admired by many, and *in reality* despised by none, and may be reckoned among the considerable men of that age. They were regular and religious in their lives, and likewise in the course and fashion of their living. The younger brother was deemed the abler of the two, but the elder far the best conditioned. No man in his own time was ever more known, or more in men's discourse, than this earl of Nottingham. He was very long at the head of his party, and the idol of the churchmen: all his politics lay that way, and he laboured to make king William govern by them only. Whatever suspicion some hot men of the whigs had of him, he seems to have been always faithful to the revolution establishment, after it was made. He was attentive to the duty of his offices, and never had any corruption imputed to him. He and his brother have continued and advanced a very ancient and noble family, and which is now, and deservedly, one of those who are of the first consideration and the best alliance. It was reported, that when the duke of Bucks found that some of the rebel lords, just now

spoken of, were executed, he said, " I perceive the king is " resolved to reign here, and he " is now worth serving." He indeed would have served any king that would have employed him. A more profligate and worthless man never lived, with parts, knowledge, sense, and wit, and true eloquence, superior almost to the greatest men of any age. And all this he preserved to the very last, and died upwards of fourscore. There were many stories of his vivacity and quickness. I must tell you one, and it was of what happened but a short time before his death. The younger Craggs, who seemed made to be above and to despise such a consideration, yet had the weakness to be ever uneasy and miserable at the thoughts of the mean extraction of his father, who had been a common barber; though he had raised himself by the strength of his great natural talents, and connection with some great men, particularly the duke of Marlborough, (to whom he was as a first minister,) to be very high in business and fortune: yet notwithstanding all that, his son was perpetually regretting his want of birth, and saying that no man could make a great figure in this country, unless he was born a gentleman; and this strange weakness of his, by his talking of it, which was still weaker, came to be known to

prince of the house of Bourbon; he moved, that, 1711.
 with their address of thanks, they should offer that
 as their advice to the queen; he set forth the mi-
 sery that all Europe, but England most particu-
 larly, must be under, if the West Indies came into
 a French management; and that king Philip's pos-
 sessing them was, upon the matter, the putting
 them into the hands of France^d. This was much
 opposed by the ministers; they moved the referring

all who knew him. He was one day in the house of lords, at a debate in which the duke of Bucks spoke with all his usual force and bitterness (in which he excelled) against the then ministry: after the debate was over, and the duke was going away, Craggs, who was then secretary of state, followed him, and in his familiar frank way said to the duke, to whom he was well known, and who very likely had heard at least of this foible in him, "Come, my lord duke, notwithstanding all your greatness to-day, and your severity to us, your grace, who has been so often in administration, knows very well, that let what will be said, business must be carried on, and the old proverb is true, that 'the pot must boil.'" "Aye," says the duke, "it is an old and a true proverb, and there is, as you know, Mr. Secretary, as old and as true a proverb, 'that when the pot boils, the scum is uppermost.'" Imagine now, the condition of the secretary; he turned short away, said not a word more, and had all the torment of his own folly. This

came from one who was present, and dined that day with Craggs, and saw him in all his disorder, which, he said, was very visible. You see how I ramble, and so I will have done, lest I should tire you too much. I have given you some account of the father and son elsewhere. O.

^d Whilst the earl of Nottingham was thus copiously declaiming, the king of Portugal, the duke of Savoy, with most of the princes of Germany, were representing that the emperor's having Spain and the West Indies, was creating a more formidable power than that they had been struggling with so long: and the Dutch were laughing at any body that could fancy such a scheme practicable. D. (Yet, as sir Robert Walpole observes, the present house of commons had in this year, on the death of the emperor, declared in their address to the queen, that the utmost endeavours were to be used to promote the election of the king of Spain to the empire. See his Short History of the Parliament, p. 20.)

1711. that matter to another occasion, in which it might be fully debated; but said, it was not fit to clog the address with it. Some officious courtiers said, that since peace and war belonged as prerogatives to the crown, it was not proper to offer any advice in those matters till it was asked: but this was rejected with indignation, since it was a constant practice in all sessions of parliament to offer advices; no prerogative could be above advice; this was the end specified in the writ by which a parliament was summoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The eyes of all Europe were upon the present session; and this was a post night: so it was fit they should come to a present resolution in a matter of such importance^f. The question was put, whether this advice should be part of the address; and the previous question being first put, it was carried by one voice to put it; and the main question was carried by three voices: so this point was gained, though by a small majority^g. The same motion

Agreed to
by the
lords.

^f There was nobody spoke with more candour and sincerity in this whole debate, than the earl of Wharton, who never desired to pass for a fool, (which he always left to the more solemn gravity of his betters, as he called them, and most heartily hated,) therefore declared, that he knew it was impossible and impracticable to take Spain and the West Indies out of king Philip's hands, but it must be done: which, in plain English, was, that we must do that which could not be done, or be hanged; to which this most apostolic bishop gave his cordial Amen. D.

^g (Archdeacon Coxe, after giving the duke of Marlborough's impressive speech in favour of the advice, says, "that the pathos with which he delivered this manly appeal produced a great sensation in the house; and it was warmly seconded by Cowper, Halifax, and bishop Burnet, and only feebly opposed by the subordinate members of government. A motion for the previous question was lost by the single casting vote of Nottingham, and the clause itself carried by a majority of 64 to 52." *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, vol.

was made in the house of commons, but was re- 1711.
jected by a great majority; yet in other respects
their address was well couched: for they said, they
hoped for a just, honourable, and lasting peace to
her majesty and to all her allies.

When the address of the lords was reported to
the house by the committee appointed to prepare
it, the court tried to get the whole matter to be
contested over again, pretending that the debate
was not now upon the matter debated the day be-
fore, but only whether they should agree to the
draught prepared by the committee: but that part of
it which contained the advice, was conceived in the
very words in which the vote had passed; and it
was a standing rule, that what was once voted
could never again be brought into question during
that session. This was so sacred a rule, that many
of those who voted with the court the day before,
expressed their indignation against it, as subverting
the very constitution of parliaments, if things might
be thus voted and unvoted again from day to day:
yet even upon this a division was called for, but the
majority appearing so evidently against the motion,
it was yielded without counting the house.

When the address was presented to the queen, The queen's
answer.
her answer was, she was sorry that any should think
she would not do her utmost to hinder Spain and
the West Indies from remaining in the hands of a
prince of the house of Bourbon: and the lords re-
turned her thanks for this gracious answer; for
they understood, by the doing her utmost was meant

III. c. 106. p. 472. Burnet says, Somerville by four, citing the
above, that the main question Lords' Journals, 6th of Decem-
was carried by three voices, ber.)

1711. the continuing the war. The court was much troubled to see the house of lords so backward; and both sides studied to fortify themselves, by bringing up their friends, or by getting their proxies.

A bill
against oc-
casional
conformity.

The next motion was made by the earl of Nottingham, for leave to bring in a bill against occasional conformity: he told those with whom he 585 now joined, that he was but one man come over to them, unless he could carry a bill to that effect; but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he should be able to bring many to concur with them in other things^h. They yielded this the more easily, because they knew that the court had offered to the high men in the house of commons, to carry any bill that they should desire in that matter: the earl of Nottingham promised to draw it with all possible temper. It was thus prepared; that all persons in places of profit and trust, and all the common-council-men in corporations, who should be at any meeting for divine worship (where there were above ten persons more than the family) in which the Common Prayer was not used, or where the queen and the princess Sophia were not prayed for, should, upon conviction, forfeit their place of trust and profit, the witnesses making oath within ten days, and the prosecution being within three months after the offence; and such persons were to continue incapable of any employment till they should depose, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle. The bill did also enact, that the toleration should remain inviolable in all time to come; and that if any personⁱ should be brought into trou-

^h But it did not prove so: O. still remains, and is, in effect,

ⁱ Except their teachers. This a stop to any prosecution of

ble for not having observed the rules that were prescribed by the act that first granted the toleration, all such prosecution should cease, upon their taking the oath prescribed by that act: and a teacher, licensed in any one county, was by the bill qualified to serve in any licensed meeting in any part of England^k; and by another clause, all who were concerned in the practice of the law in Scotland, were required to take the abjuration in the month of June next.

No opposition was made to this in the house of lords; so it passed in three days; and it had the same fate in the house of commons; only they added a penalty on the offender of forty pounds^l, which was to be given to the informer; and so it was offered to the royal assent, with the bill for four shillings in the pound. Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had been formerly

Passed
without op-
position.

their laity for not conforming to the conditions of the toleration. For who will begin a prosecution that may be thus defeated? O.

^k This provision remains also.
O.

^l The bishop did not oppose it at this time, because he loved faction better than he did the dissenters. Lord Nottingham fancied he could work wonders with it, and make the world believe that he governed the whigs, who only laughed at him, but hoped he might be of some use to annoy the enemy. Lord Halifax told me, he thought they paid too dear for him, by disobliging many of their real friends, to please

a man that joined them in spite, and would be sure to leave them whenever he found it for his advantage. The court were glad to be rid of a bill they knew would signify nothing when passed; though often trumped up, to make divisions and uneasiness. Lord Nottingham had the mortification afterwards to see his bill repealed with some scorn, and himself not much better treated. D. (The Tories proposed by the bill to weaken the whig interest in corporations sending members to parliament, and it always had been opposed by the whigs for this reason till now.)

1711. so much contested, and was so often rejected by the lords, and now went through both houses in so silent a manner without the least opposition: some of the dissenters complained much, that they were thus forsaken by their friends, to whom they had trusted; and the court had agents among them to inflame their resentments, since they were sacrificed by those on whom they depended ⁿ. All the excuse that the whigs made for their easiness in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the fears of those who seemed to think the church was still
586 in danger, till that act passed; and thereby to engage these to concur with them in those important matters that might come before them. It must be left to time, to shew what good effect this act may have on the church, or what bad ones it may have on dissenters ^o.

Duke Hamilton's patent examined.

The next point that occasioned a great debate in the house of lords, which was espoused by the court with great zeal, was a patent, creating duke Hamilton a duke in England ^p. Lawyers were heard for the patent ^q: the queen's prerogative in conferring

ⁿ (In Arbuthnot's humorous history of John Bull, Jack the presbyterian is introduced, persuaded by his friends to hang himself, in expectation that sir Roger, the name there given to the earl of Oxford, would interpose and cut him down; sir Roger is described as passing by without taking notice, and letting Jack hang on, notwithstanding his winks and contortions of countenance.)

^o It has been repealed, except the two clauses in it beforementioned. O.

^p By the title of Brandon. O.

^q Sir Thomas Powys, and sergeant (afterwards chief justice) Pratt, were the counsel. I heard them. Powys's was deemed a great performance. He exerted all his strength, and left very little for Pratt to say, although one of the most able advocates of that time. His son (now attorney general)

honours was clear; all the subjects of the united kingdom had likewise a capacity of receiving honour; the commons of Scotland had it unquestionably; and it seemed a strange assertion, that the peers of that nation should be the only persons incapable of receiving honour: by the act of union the peers of Scotland were, *by virtue of that treaty*, to have a representation of sixteen for their whole body; these words, *by virtue of that treaty*, seemed to intimate, that by creation or succession they might be made capable. And in the debate that followed in the house, the Scotch lords, who had been of the treaty, affirmed that these words were put in on that design: and upon this, they appealed to the English lords: this was denied by none of them. It was also urged, that the house of lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the duke of Queensbury, upon his being created duke of Dover; but had so far affirmed his being a peer of Great Britain, that, upon that account, they had denied him the right of voting in

fully succeeds him in his parts, spirit, learning, and eloquence. (*He was afterwards lord chancellor, and earl Camden.*) I was then a very young man, in all the warmth of party on the whig side, yet I was much scandalized, I remember, at this behaviour of those I wished best to, as it was a matter of right, and so understood at the union. See 587. (fol. ed.) I have heard it said to be a maxim with the ancient peers, and a very wise one, that quiet possession of their seats in parliament stops all future question of right,

except the claim be between different persons to the same honours. This was applicable to the duke of Queensbury the father, and if his right was established by it, the rule must go to the *admission* of the present duke, and to duke Hamilton. A precarious seat in either house of parliament is a dangerous awe upon the members concerned, and therefore all controverted returns to parliament ought to be determined as soon as possible, as anciently they were in the house of commons. O.

1711. the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. But
 ——— in opposition to all this, it was said, that the prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an act of parliament; the act of union had made all the peers of Scotland peers of Great Britain, as to all intents, except the voting in the house of lords, or sitting in judgment on a peer; and as to their voting, that was vested in their representatives by whom they voted: the queen might give them what titles she pleased; but this incapacity of voting, otherwise than by these sixteen, being settled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to them: they had indeed admitted the duke of Queensbury to sit among them, as duke of Dover; but that matter was never brought into debate; so it was only passed over in silence: and he was mentioned in their books, upon the occasion of his voting in the choice of the sixteen peers of Scotland, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there said, that he, claiming to be duke of Dover^r, could not vote as a Scotch peer. The Scotch lords insisted in arguing for the patent, with great vehemence, not without intimations of the dismal effects that might follow, if it should go in the negative. The court put their whole strength to support the patent; this heightened the zeal of those who opposed it: for they apprehended, that, considering the dignity and the antiquity of the Scotch peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the court would always have recourse to this, as a sure

^r Very poor: did they not allow and acknowledge his claim by rejecting his Scotch vote? if there was nothing but that word in the matter, it was like the observation of a little lawyer, unbecoming a great judicature. O.

expedient to have a constant majority in the house of lords^s. There was no limitation indeed on the prerogative, as to the creation of new peers, yet these were generally men of estates, who could not be kept in a constant dependance, as some of the Scotch lords might be. 1711.

The queen heard all the debate, which lasted some hours; in conclusion, when it came to the final vote, fifty-two voted for the patent, and fifty-seven against it. The queen and the ministers seemed to be much concerned at this, and the Scotch were enraged at it^t: they met together, and signed a re-

Judged
against
him.

^s The times made these fears, and I dare say, made the determination too. But prudence is not to take place of justice: an abuse of power must have another correction; and there are resorts for it. O.

^t That the Scotch were enraged, is true: but that all the court voted for it, is not so; for lord Berkely of Stratton and myself voted against it; which the bishop knew, and the uproar it raised amongst his countrymen. Duke Hamilton went in great wrath to the queen, and insisted, in the name of the whole nation, that I should be turned out; for they could never believe her majesty was in earnest, whilst a man that had her seals in his pocket voted against them, and received no mark of her displeasure. The queen said, she had done all she could to persuade me to comply: but I understood it to be against law, and she believed I acted sincerely, with affection to her

service, and zeal for my country; therefore had deceived nobody; and had refused to sign the warrant for the patent at first, which she was sure I would not have done, if I had not thought it my duty: but if nothing else would satisfy them, she was sorry for it; but did not think it for her own service to comply with them in that particular: for she believed it would give great offence to the English lords, and do the Scotch more harm than good. Then duke Hamilton proposed, that an act of parliament might be brought in to confirm his and the duke of Queensbury's patents; to which the queen gave him no answer. Next day the duke of Athol came to my house to disavow in his own, and the name of the rest of the Scotch lords, all that duke Hamilton had said in relation to myself; and to desire that I would acquaint the queen, that they did unanimously protest against the

1711. presentation to the queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of disgrace put

act they understood he had proposed; and that they would bring things to the utmost extremities, rather than such a bill should pass. I told him, I should be sure to let the queen know what he said; but I did believe there was no occasion to be alarmed at duke Hamilton's bill, for I knew she thought it as unreasonable as they could do. D. This was certainly an after-thought, and never meant at the time of the union, of which the case of the duke of Queensbury is a demonstration. It is a law refinement, and was chiefly supported by the lord Nottingham and his brother the lord Guernsey. But the part the whig lords (especially those who had been concerned in the union) took in it, was very unworthy of them, and, as it was said, against promises made by the then administration to others of the Scotch lords besides the duke of Queensbury, that they should, at proper times, have the like patents after the union; and this done to quiet those of the Scotch who desired to have them before the union took place, as the duke of Argyle luckily had to be earl of Greenwich. If more of the Scotch lords had English seats in parliament, it might not be the worse for the English interest in Scotland, which the present state of the peerage of Scotland is not very favourable to, nor to the for-

warding of the union establishment. In consequence of this determination, the present duke of Queensbury is excluded, and so must his father have been, although he had sat several years in the house of lords as duke of Dover. This has been in some measure made up to the Scotch nobility, by creating the eldest sons, if commoners, peers, as of England. The eldest sons of the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh were so. The present duke of Queensbury's case would have been the same, because his title to that of Dover was by special limitation in the patent, he having at that time an elder brother; but, unfortunately for him, he was at that time too a peer of Scotland, made so when a child, by creation then before the union, and by that came within the objection made to duke Hamilton. No one however under these two claims, has ever been chosen to be of the sixteen. It is a hard case upon both. O. ("A dissent was entered against this decision," (*viz.* setting aside the claim of the duke of Hamilton to a seat, as duke of Brandon, in the house of lords,) "20th December, and the Scottish peers discontinued their attendance in the house. The queen interested herself anxiously in behalf of the duke of Hamilton; and in a message to the house of lords, on the 17th

on the whole peers of Scotland, adding solemn promises of maintaining her prerogative, either in an united or separated state. This made the ministers resolve on another method to let the peers, and indeed the whole world see, that they would have that house kept in a constant dependance on the court, by creating such a number of peers at once, as should give them an unquestionable majority. On the twenty-second of December the bill for four shillings in the pound was ready for the royal assent; yet the house of commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January, which was a long recess in so critical a time.

A motion was made in the house of lords, by the duke of Devonshire, for leave to bring in a bill, to give the prince electoral of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge, the precedence of all peers; this was granted, and so was like to meet with no opposition. The earl of Nottingham moved next, that before their recess they should make an address to the

1711.

The lords address that our allies might be carried along with us in the treaty.

“ of January, she expressed her
 “ desire for their advice, to find
 “ out the best method of settling this affair to the satisfaction of the whole kingdom. In consequence of this message, the lords resolved, that the sitting of the peers of Great Britain, who were peers of Scotland before the union, in that house by election, was alterable by parliament at the request of the peers of Great Britain, who were peers of Scotland before the union, without any violation of the union. Journal, Lords, 25th January. Although no alteration fol-

lowed immediately upon this resolution, yet it appeased the Scottish peers so far, as that they returned to the house of lords. In the year 1782, the duke of Hamilton claimed to sit in the house of peers as duke of Brandon, and the question being referred to the judges, they were unanimously of opinion, that the peers of Scotland are not disabled from receiving, subsequently to the union, a patent of peerage of Great Britain. Journals, Lords, 6th June 1782.” *Somerville's History of Queen Anne*, ch. xix. p. 459, note.)

1711. queen, desiring her to order her plenipotentiaries to concert with the ministers of the allies, the grounds upon which they were to proceed in their treaties, and to agree on a mutual guarantee to secure them to us, as well as to all Europe, and in particular to secure the protestant succession to England. All the opposition that the court made to this was to shew it was needless, for it was already ordered: and the lord treasurer said, the lords might, in order to their satisfaction, send to examine their instructions. To this it was answered, that the offering such an address would fortify the plenipotentiaries in executing their instructions. The court moved 588 that these words might be put in the address, *if the queen had not ordered it*; so, this being agreed to, the thing passed; and the lords adjourned to the second of January.

Discoveries
of bribery
pretended.

But a new scene was ready to be opened in the house of commons: the commissioners for examining the public accounts made some discoveries, upon which they intended to proceed at their next meeting. Walpole, who had been secretary of war, and who had appeared with great firmness in the defence of the late ministry, was first aimed at: a bill had been remitted to him of 500*l.* by those who had contracted to forage the troops that lay in Scotland^u; this made way to a matter of more importance: a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing bread to the army in Flanders, made a present yearly to the duke of Marlborough of between 5000*l.*

^u Walpole endorsed the bill, and appears to have made the bargain. The money is said to have been for Mr. Mann, and

the practice, though common, is not a commendable one. H. (See afterwards, p. 591. folio edit.)

and 6000*l*. The general of the States had the like 1711.
 present, as a perquisite to support his dignity, and
 to enable him to procure intelligence: the queen or-
 dered 10,000*l*. a year more to the duke of Marlbo-
 rough, for the same service: the late king had also
 agreed, that two and a half per cent. should be de-
 ducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which
 amounted to 15,000*l*.; this the queen had, by a war-
 rant, appointed the duke of Marlborough to receive,
 on the same account.

He heard his enemies had discovered the present The duke
of Marlbo-
rough aim-
ed at.
 made him by the Jew, while he was beyond sea: so
 he wrote to them, and owned the whole matter to
 be true; and added, that he had applied these sums
 to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to
 the blessing of God, and the bravery of the troops,
 their constant successes were chiefly owing. This
 did not satisfy the commissioners: but, though no
 complaints were brought from the army, of their
 not being constantly supplied with good bread, yet
 they saw here was matter to raise a clamour, which
 they chiefly aimed at; so this was reported to the
 house of commons, before their recess.

A few days after this, the queen wrote him a let- He is turn-
ed out of all
his employ-
ments.
 ter, complaining of the ill treatment she received
 from him, and discharged him of all his employ-
 ments. This was thought very extraordinary, after
 such long and eminent services; such accidents, when
 they happen, shew the instability of all human
 things: this was indeed so little expected, that those
 who looked for precedents, could find none since the
 disgrace of Belisarius in Justinian's time: the only
 thing pretended to excuse it was, his being consi-

1711. dered as the head of those who opposed the peace,
 on which the court seemed to set their hearts.

Twelve
 new peers
 made.

But they, finding the majority of the house of lords could not be brought to favour their designs, 589 resolved to make an experiment, that none of our princes had ventured on in former times : a resolution was taken up very suddenly, of making twelve peers all at once ; three of these were called up by writ, being eldest sons of peers ; and nine more were created by patent. Sir Miles Wharton, to whom it was offered, refused it : he thought it looked like the serving a turn ; and that, whereas peers were wont to be made for services they had done, he would be made for services to be done by him : so he excused himself, and the favourite's husband, Mr. Massam, was put in his room. And whereas formerly Jefferies had the vanity to be made a peer, while he was chief justice, which had not been practised for some ages, yet the precedent set by him was followed, and Trevor, chief justice of the common pleas, was now advanced to be a peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative ; so there was no ground in law to oppose the receiving the new lords into the house : nor was it possible to raise, in the ancient peers, a sense of the indignity that was now put upon their house ; since the court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in absolute submission and obedience ^y.

^y I was never so much surprised, as when the queen drew a list of twelve lords out of her pocket, and ordered me to bring warrants for them ; there not

having been the least intimation before it was to be put in execution. I asked her, if she designed to have them all made at once. She asked me, if I had

When the second of January came, they were all introduced into the house of lords, without any opposition²: and when that was over, the lord keeper delivered a message from the queen, commanding

The queen's message to the lords to adjourn, disputed, but obeyed.

any exceptions to the legality of it. I said, No; but doubted very much of the expediency, for I feared it would have a very ill effect in the house of lords, and no good one in the kingdom. She said, she had made fewer lords than any of her predecessors, and I saw the duke of Marlborough and the whigs were resolved to distress her as much as they could, and she must do what she could to help herself. I told her, I wished it proved a remedy to what she so justly complained of, but I thought it my duty to tell her my apprehensions, as well as execute her commands. She thanked me, and said, she liked it as little as I did, but did not find that any body could propose a better expedient. I asked lord Oxford afterwards, what was the real inducement for taking so odious a course, when there were less shocking means to have acquired the same end. He said, the Scotch lords were grown so extravagant in their demands, that it was high time to let them see they were not so much wanted as they imagined; for they were now come to expect a reward for every vote they gave. D. ("Although the power exercised by the crown upon this occasion was not liable to any legal objection, yet it was justly condemned, not only by the party which it

"overthrew, but by all the intelligent friends of the constitution, as establishing a precedent, tending to control the independance of the legislature." Somerville's *Hist. of Queen Anne*, ch. xix. p. 460.)

² (Lord Wharton asked one of these twelve peers, whether they voted by their foreman. As to the measure itself, it admits not indeed of justification; yet as the queen was resolved to free herself from the tyranny of the whigs, the change introduced in the mode of carrying on the government caused her to adopt it; and it is observable, that at another time also, and early in this reign, when the parties in the house of lords were near equally balanced, four lords were created belonging to the tory party, Granville, Guernsey, Gower, and Conway, with only one whig peer, lord Hervey of Suffolk. Boyer in his *History of Queen Anne* observes, that "it had been whispered about, that, in a consultation held between the leading whig lords, it was proposed, either not to admit into the house the twelve new peers, or to protest against their being made, during the sitting of parliament, merely to serve a turn. But neither of these counsels was pursued." p. 533.)

1712. them to adjourn forthwith to the fourteenth; for by that time, her majesty would lay matters of great importance before the two houses. Upon this a great debate arose. It was said, that the queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn, when the like message was not sent to both houses: the pleasure of the prince, in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of parliaments, was always directed to both houses; but never to any one house, without the same intimation was made at the same time to the other^a. The consequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one house to adjourn, while the other was left to sit still; and this might end in a total disjoining of the constitution: the vote was carried for adjourning, by the weight of the twelve new peers. It is true, the odds in the books is thirteen; but that was, because one of the peers, who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for.

Prince Eugene came to England.

At this time, prince Eugene was sent by the emperor to England, to try if it was possible to engage our court to go on with the war; offering a new scheme, by which he took a much larger share of it 590 on himself than the late emperor would bear. That prince's character was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted, at several times, to much discourse with him: his character is so universally known,

^a Modern nonsense. S. The pretence for it might be, that the commons had adjourned themselves to the 14th, and I suppose it was upon that prin-

ciple they went, in sending this message to the house of lords only, whatever might be the private reason for having an adjournment of the lords. O.

that I will say nothing of him, but from what appeared to myself. He has a most unaffected modesty, and does scarcely bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him : he descends to an easy equality with those with whom he converses ; and seems to assume nothing to himself, while he reasons with others : he was treated with great respect by both parties ; but he put a distinguished respect on the duke of Marlborough, with whom he passed most of his time. The queen used him civilly, but not with the distinction that was due to his high merit : nor did he gain much ground with the ministers ^z.

When the fourteenth of January came, the houses

^z The queen and her ministers had good reason to know how far offers from the court of Vienna were to be depended upon, by their first engagements in the Portugal treaty ; whereby the emperor was to have furnished a third part of the charge : which fell entirely upon England, upon a pretence that they were not able to make it good ; and the Dutch refused to take any more share of the burden upon them, and complained that they had been drawn into a greater expense than they knew how to support. But this factious churchman has been free enough in declaring, how little reliance was to be had upon Austrian performances, when those he dignifies with the name of patriots have the management of affairs. D. (See the bishop also afterwards, p. 613. folio edit. It appears from the Lord

Bolingbroke's Letters, lately published, that the ministry, before prince Eugene's coming over to this country, declined treating in England on the emperor's offers, and discouraged the prince's journey as much as possible. See vol. II. p. 52 ; and elsewhere, with Parke's note at p. 138 of these Letters. Speaker Onslow says, " See a strange account of this " journey of prince Eugene, in " Swift's Hist. (of the Four last " Years of Queen Anne.") Add Macpherson's History of Great Britain, vol. II. ch. ix. p. 521—542. But consult Somerville's Hist. of Queen Anne, ch. xix. p. 478—480 ; and Coxe's Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. III. ch. 107, p. 491—495. This great prince was a great grandson of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and the son of a niece of cardinal Mazarine.)

1712. were ordered to adjourn to the eighteenth, and then

A message
to both
houses.

a message was sent to both houses: the queen told them, the congress was opened, and that she would set a day for ending it, as well as she had done for opening it. She had ordered her plenipotentiaries to agree with the ministers of her allies, according to all her treaties with them; to obtain reasonable satisfaction to their demands, in particular concerning Spain and the West Indies; by which the false reports of ill-designing men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a separate peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the least colour given for this. She also promised, that the articles of the treaty should be laid before the houses, before any thing should be concluded. Upon this, the house of lords agreed to an address, thanking her majesty for communicating this to them, and for the promises she had made them, repeating the words in which they were made: it was moved to add the words, *conform to her alliance*; but it was said, the queen assured them of that, so the repeating these words seemed to intimate a distrust; and that was not carried. But, because there seemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of Spain and the West Indies, the house expressed in what sense they understood them, by adding these words; *which were of the greatest importance to the safety and commerce of these nations*. The commons made an address to the same purpose, in which they only named Spain and the West Indies.

A bill giving precedence to the house of Hanover.

The lord treasurer prevented the duke of Devonshire, who had prepared a bill for giving precedence to the duke of Cambridge; for he offered a bill, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as

the children and nephews of the crown ; and it was 1712.
 intimated, that bills relating to honours and prece- 591
 dence ought to come from the crown : the duke of
 Devonshire would make no dispute on this head ;
 if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner
 of passing it, only he thought it lay within the
 authority of the house. On this occasion the court
 seemed, even to an affectation, to shew a particular
 zeal in promoting this bill : for it passed through
 both houses in two days, it being read thrice in a
 day, in them both. For all this haste, the court
 did not seem to design any such bill, till it was pro-
 posed by others, out of whose hands they thought
 fit to take it. There were two other articles in the
 queen's message ; by the one, she desired their ad-
 vice and assistance, to quiet the uneasiness that the
 peers of Scotland were under by the judgment lately
 given : by the other, she complained of the license of
 the press, and desired some restraint might be put
 upon it. The lords entered upon the consideration
 of that part of the queen's message, that related to Debates
 the peers of Scotland ; and it took up almost a whole concerning
 week. The court proposed, that an expedient might the Scotch
 be found, that the peers of Scotland should not sit peers.
 among them by election, but by descent, in case the
 rest of the peers of that nation should consent to
 it^a : a debate followed, concerning the articles of the
 union, which of them were fundamental, and not
 alterable ; it was said that, by the union, no private
 right could be taken away but by the consent of the
 persons concerned ; therefore no alteration could be

^a This gave rise, perhaps, to bill, that was so much agitated
 the like provision for Scotch in the next reign. O.
 peers in the famous peerage

1712. made in the right of the peers of Scotland, unless they consented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in case they should consent to it; or whether the first rise to any such alteration ought not to be given by a previous desire. This was not so subject to an ill management; the court studied to have a subsequent consent received as sufficient; but a previous desire was insisted on, as visibly fairer and juster.

Walpole's
case and
censure.

The house of commons, after the recess, entered on the observations of the commissioners for taking the public accounts; and began with Walpole, whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in the house^b. The thing laid to his charge stood thus: after he, as secretary of war, had contracted with some for forage to the horse that lay in Scotland, he, finding that the two persons who contracted for it made some gain by it, named a friend of his own as a third person, that he might have a share in the gain^c; but the other two had no mind to let him in, to know the secret of their management; so they offered him 500*l*. for his share; he accepted of it, and the money was remitted. But they, not
592 knowing his address, directed their bill to Walpole,

^b He began early, and has been thriving twenty-seven years to January 1739. S. (In his *Four last Years of the Queen*, p. 149, Swift speaks of two contracts being objected to Walpole, the first of which, as he asserts, he endeavoured to excuse, but had nothing to say about the second. Archdeacon Coxe's account of this affair is

to be found in vol. I. of his *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, p. i. c. vi. p. 36—38. Compare on the other side of the question Lockhart's *Commentaries*, pp. 362, 363, lately published.)

^c But these are a sort of bargainings very bad with regard to the public, and disgraceful to government. O.

who endorsed it, and the person concerned received the money; this was found out, and Walpole was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own use for making the contract. Both the persons that remitted the money, and he who received it were examined, and affirmed that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the house insisted upon his having endorsed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but sent him to the tower, and expelled him the house^d. 1712.

The next attack was on the duke of Marlborough: the money received from the Jew was said to be a fraud; and that deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, was said to be public money, and to be accounted for: the debate held long: it ap-

The censure put on the duke of Marlborough.

^d ("He had received 500 guineas, and a note for 500 pounds on account of two contracts for forage to her majesty's troops in North Britain. It appears, from Mr. Mann's evidence in the house of commons, 17th of January, and Mr. Walpole's vindication of himself, that the latter derived no advantage from these sums; that he had received them on Mr. Mann's account, having before stipulated with the contractors, that he was to be a sharer in this undertaking at equal profit or loss, as should happen in performing the contract. He was returned again member for the borough of King's Lynn, but the commons found him incapable of being elected to serve in the present parliament. They also resolved,

" that Samuel Taylor, who had
 " the minority of votes, was
 " not duly elected, and that
 " therefore the election was
 " void. *Journals of the Commons*, 6th of March, 1712.
 " In the dispute relative to the
 " Middlesex election in the
 " year 1769, the ministerial
 " party referred to the case
 " of Mr. Walpole as a precedent for the repeated expulsion of Mr. Wilkes; but the
 " opposition appealed to the
 " same precedent for refusing
 " to sustain the election of colonel Lutterell, who had the
 " smallest number of votes.
 " See this point stated, *Letters of Junius*, p. 520." *Somerville's History of Queen Anne*, chap. xix. p. 461, note. The decision of the house in favour of Lutterell was rescinded in 1781.)

1712. peared that, during the former war, king William had 50,000*l.* a year for contingencies; it was often reckoned to have cost much more. The contingency was that service which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence; the duke of Marlborough had only 10,000*l.* for the contingencies; that and all the other items joined together, amounted but to 30,000*l.* a sum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expense, he had procured so good intelligence, that he was never surprised, and no party he sent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this intelligence, all his designs were so well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them, and by many instances the exactness of his intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by witnesses and by formal attestations from Holland, that ever since the year 1672, the Jews had made the like present to the general of the States' army; and it was understood as a perquisite belonging to that command: no bargain was made with the Jews for the English troops, that made by the States being applied to them; so that it appeared, that the making such a present to the general was customary; but that was denied: and they voted the taking that present to be illegal; and though he had the queen's warrant to receive the sixpence in the pound, or two and a half per cent. deducted from the pay of the foreign troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The court espoused this with such zeal, and paid so well for it, that it was carried by a great majority: upon this, many virulent writers (whether set on to it, or officiously studying to merit by

Many libels
against
him.

it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of their malice against the duke of Marlborough: they compared him to Catiline, to Crassus, and to Anthony; and studied to represent him as a robber of the nation, and as a public enemy. 593
 This gave an indignation to all who had a sense of gratitude, or a regard to justice; in one of these scurrilous papers, wrote on design to raise the rabble against him, one of the periods began thus, *He was perhaps once fortunate*. I took occasion to let prince Eugene see the spite of these writers, and mentioned this passage; upon which he made this pleasant reflection, That it was the greatest commendation could be given him, since he was always successful; so this implied, that in one single instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other successes were owing to his conduct^e. I upon that said, that single instance must be then his escaping out of the hands of the party that took him, when he was sailing down the Maese in the boat. But their ill-will rested not in defamation; the queen was prevailed on to send an order to the attorney-general, to prosecute him for the 15,000*l*. that was deducted yearly out of the pay of the fo-

^e (The high estimation, in which prince Eugene really held the duke of Marlborough, may be seen by the manner in which he speaks of him in his own Memoirs. "The elector of Bavaria," he says, "was furious at the pillage which I had suffered Marlborough to commit, (see above, p. 383 of Burnet's Hist.) and who in consequence became my firm friend. We sin-

cerely loved and esteemed each other. He was indeed a great statesman and general." *Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy, written by himself*, an. 1704. p. 81. ed. 1811. That the esteem was reciprocal, appears by the testimony of the duchess of Marlborough, contained in a letter addressed by her to prince Eugene after the duke's death.)

1712. reign troops, which he had received by her own warrant: but what this will end in, must be left to time^f.

The duke of Ormond was now declared general, and had the first regiment of guards; and the earl of Rivers was made master of the ordnance in his room.

His innocence appeared evidently.

Secret inquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the duke of Marlborough, and to see whether posts in the army or in the guards were sold by him; but nothing could be found: he had suffered a practice to go on that had been begun in the late king's time, of letting officers sell their commissions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himself: few thought that he had been so clear in that matter; for it was the only thing in which now his enemies were confident that some discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the endeavours used to search into those matters producing nothing, raised the reputation of his incorrupt administration, more than all his well-wishers could have expected. Thus happy does

^f ("The value of the gratuities which the duke had received from the contractors for bread was calculated at 63,319 pounds, and the two and a half per cent. deducted from the pay of the mercenary troops, at the sum of 460,001 pounds. The duke of Ormond, who succeeded the duke of Marlborough, enjoyed the same emoluments. Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 417." *Somerville's Hist. of Queen Anne*, ch. xix. p. 462,

note. See also Burnet below in p. 602, folio edit. Oldmixon, in his History of these Reigns, p. 493, writes to this effect. After it had been voted in the English parliament, that the two and a half per cent. should be applied to the use of the war, the allies ordered their ministers to represent, that they were willing to allow it as a free gift to the duke of Ormond, as it had been before done to the duke of Marlborough.)

sometimes the malice of an enemy prove! In this whole transaction we saw a new scene of ingratitude, acted in a most imprudent (f. impudent) manner; when the man, to whom the nation owed more than it had ever done in any age to any subject, or perhaps to any person whatsoever, was for some months pursued with so much malice: he bore it with silence and patience, with an exterior that seemed always calm and cheerful; and though he prepared a full vindication of himself, yet he delayed publishing it, till the nation should return to its senses, and be capable of examining these matters in a more impartial manner. 1712.

The Scotch lords, seeing no redress to their complaint, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the house of peers; but the court was sensible, that their strength in that house consisted chiefly in them, and in the new peers: so pains were taken, and secret forcible arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few days' absence they came back, and continued, during the session, to sit in the house. They gave it out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the satisfaction of the peers of Scotland: but nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the satisfaction was private and personal. The great arrear into which all the regular payments, both of the household and of salaries and pensions, was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the civil list, though it exceeded the establishment very far, was applied to other payments, which the ministers durst not own. And though secret practice on members had been of a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was

The Scotch lords put in good hopes. 594

1712. at this time managed with an extraordinary profusion.

Those who were suspected to have very bad designs, applied themselves with great industry to drive on such bills, as they hoped would give the presbyterians in Scotland such alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate, that the union was broken. They passed not all at once; but I shall lay them together, because one and the same design was pursued in them all.

A toleration to the English liturgy in Scotland.

A toleration was proposed for the episcopal clergy, who would use the liturgy of the church of England; this seemed so reasonable, that no opposition was made to it: one clause put in it occasioned great complaints; the magistrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the sentences of the judicatories of their kirk, were by this act required to execute none of them. It was reasonable to require them to execute no sentences, that might be passed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but the carrying this to a general clause, took away the civil sanction, which in most places is looked on as the chief, if not the only strength of church power. Those, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of abjuration; it was well known, that few if any of them would take that oath; so, to cover them from it, a clause was put in this act, requiring all the presbyterian ministers to take it; since it seemed reasonable, that those of the legal establishment should be required to take that, which was now to be imposed on those who were only to be tolerated. It was well understood, that there were words in the oath of abjuration, to which the presbyterians ex-

Designs to provoke the presbyterians there.

cepted. In the act of succession, one of the conditions on which the successor was to be received, was, his being of the communion of the church of England: and by the oath of abjuration, the succession was sworn to, as limited by that act: the word *limitation* imported only the entail of the crown; but it was suggested, that the particle *as* related to all the conditions in that act. This was spread among so many of that persuasion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuse to take it: so a small alteration was made by the house of lords of these words, *as was limited*, into words of the same sense, *which was limited*; but those who intended to excuse the episcopal party, who they knew were in the pretender's interests, from taking the oath, were for keeping in those words which the presbyterians scrupled. The commons accordingly disagreed to the amendment made by the lords; and they receding from it, the bill passed, as it had been sent up from the commons. Another act passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature during some days at Christmas, though the observing of holidays was contrary to their principles: this was intended only to irritate them.

After that, an act was brought in for the restoring of patronages; these had been taken away by an act in king William's reign; it was set up by the presbyterians, from their first beginning, as a principle, that parishes had, from warrants in scripture, a right to choose their ministers; so that they had always looked on the right of patronage, as an invasion made on that: it was therefore urged, that since, by the act of union, presbytery, with all its rights and privileges, was inalterably secured, and

1712.

Patronages
restored.

1712. since their kirk-session was a branch of their constitution, the taking from them the right of choosing their ministers was contrary to that act: yet the bill passed through both houses, a small opposition being only made in either. By these steps the presbyterians were alarmed, when they saw the success of every motion that was made on design to weaken and undermine their establishment &c.

The barrier
treaty.

Another matter, of a more public nature, was at this time set on foot: both houses of parliament had, in the year 1709, agreed in an address to the queen, that the protestant succession might be secured by a guarantee in the treaty of peace; and this was settled at the Hague, to be one of the preliminaries: but when an end was put to the conferences at Gertruydenberg, the lord Townshend was ordered to set on a treaty with the States to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the same time they proposed, that England should enter into a guarantee with them, to maintain their barrier; which consisted of some places they were to garrison, the sovereignty of which was still in the crown of Spain; and of other places, which had not
596 belonged to that crown at the death of king Charles the second, but had been taken in the progress of the war: for by their agreements with us, they bore the charge of the sieges, and so the places taken were to belong to them: these were chiefly Lisle, Tournay, Menin, and Doway; and were to be kept still by them. But as for those places which, from the time of the treaty of the Pyrenees, belonged to the Spaniards, they had been so ill looked

(g See a further account of Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. II. c. 56. p. 609—612.)

1712.

after by the Spanish governors of Flanders, who were more set on enriching themselves, and keeping a magnificent court at Brussels, than on preserving the country; that neither were the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furnished, nor the soldiers paid: so that whensoever a war broke out, the French made themselves very easily masters of places so ill kept. The States had therefore proposed, during this war, that the sovereignty of those places should continue still to belong to the crown of Spain; but they should keep garrisons in the strongest and the most exposed, in particular those that lay on the Lys and the Scheld; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100,000*l.* a-year from those provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been while they were in the hands of the Spaniards: they also asked a free passage for all the stores that they should send to those places. This seemed to be so reasonable, that since the interest of England, as well as of the States, required that this frontier should be carefully maintained, the ministry were ready to hearken to it: it was objected, that in case of a war between England and the States, the trade of those provinces would be wholly in the hands of the Dutch; but this had been settled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of France and England, was made between the Spaniards and the States: there was a provisional order therein made, for the freedom of trade in those provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one by the peace of Munster. King Charles of Spain had agreed to the main of the barrier; some places on the Scheld were not necessary for a frontier, but the States insisted on

1712. them as necessary to maintain a communication with the frontier; the king of Prussia excepted likewise to some places in the Spanish Guelder. The lord Townshend thought, that these were such inconsiderable objections, that though his instructions did not come up to every particular, yet he signed the treaty, known by the name of the *barrier treaty*: by it the States bound themselves to maintain the queen's title to her dominions, and the protestant succession, with their whole force; and England was reciprocally bound to assist them in maintaining this barrier.

597 The mercenary writers, that were hired to defend the peace then projected with France, attacked this treaty with great virulence, and by arguments that gave just suspicions of black designs: they said, it was a disgrace to this nation, to engage any other state to secure the succession among us, which perhaps we might see cause to alter: whereas, by this treaty, the States had an authority given them to interpose in our counsels. It was also said, that if the States were put in possession of all those strong towns, they might shut us out from any share of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in provinces very capable of them: but it was answered, that this could not be done, as long as this treaty continued in force, unless the sovereign of the country should join with them against us. Some objected to the settlement made at Munster, as a transaction when we were in such confusion at home, that we had no minister there: but that treaty had only rendered the truce, and the provisional settlement made before, by the mediation of England, perpetual; and we had since acquiesced

It was complained of.

in that settlement for above sixty years. By examining into the particulars of the treaty, it appeared, that in some inconsiderable matters the lord Townshend had gone beyond the letter of his instructions, in which he had so fully satisfied the ministry, that though, upon his first signing it, some exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the treaty was ratified in form. 1712.

But the present ministry had other views: they designed to set the queen at liberty from her engagements by these alliances, and to disengage her from treaties. The house of commons went now very hastily into several resolutions that were very injurious to the States: they pretended they had failed in the performance of all agreements with relation to the service, both at sea and land; and as to the troops that were to have been furnished in Portugal and Savoy, as well as the subsidies due to those princes. They fell next on the barrier treaty; they gave it out, that the old ministry designed to bring over an army from Holland, whensoever they should, for other ends, pretend that the protestant succession was in danger; and it was said, there was no need of any foreign assistance to maintain it. In the debate, it was insisted on, that it could be maintained safely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the king of France would assist the pretender; England was not inclined to keep up a standing army in time of peace, to resist him: so that we could not be so safe any other way, as by having the States engaged to send over their army, if it should be necessary. But reason is a feeble thing to bear down resolutions already taken: so 598 the house of commons voted the treaty dishonour-

And condemned by the house of lords (commons.)

1712. able, and injurious to England; and that the lord Townshend had gone beyond his instructions in signing it; and that he, and all who had advised and ratified that treaty, were public enemies to the kingdom^h. These votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as strange preludes to a peace. When the States heard what exceptions were taken to the barrier treaty, they wrote a very respectful letter to the queen, in which they offered to explain or mollify any part of it that was wrong understood; but the managers of the house of commons got all their votes to be digested into a well-composed, inflaming representation, which was laid before the queen: by it all the allies, but most particularly the States, were charged for having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements. They also laid before the queen the votes they had

^h I told lord Townshend the good offices his grace of Marlborough did him upon that occasion. When the queen spoke to him of the barrier treaty, he said, he would have lost his right hand rather than have signed it; but lord Townshend's predominant passion was love of the Dutch, therefore did not wonder that he had. D. The duke of Marlborough would have no hand in this treaty, though joined in the same powers for it with the lord Townshend; of which I once heard that lord talk with some indignation, and reflect with some freedom upon the duke of Marlborough for it. O. (Swift, who supposed, that the words attributed to the duke of

Marlborough had been spoken abroad, sarcastically remarks in his *Conduct of the Allies*, p. 134, that had they been spoken in due time, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit the duke then had at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour. As to the condemnation by the house of commons of the barrier treaty, it is considered by Somerville to have been, though perhaps necessary for obtaining a peace, yet certainly a harsh measure towards the Dutch, and dishonourable for the queen. See his *Hist. of Queen Anne*, ch. xix. p. 464. Compare Burnet below, pp. 607, 613, 615, folio edit.)

made with relation to the barrier treaty ; and that 1712.
 they might name a great sum, that would make a
 deep impression on the nation, (which was ready to
 receive all things implicitly from them,) they said
 England had been, during the war, overcharged
 nineteen millions beyond what they ought to have
 paid ; all which was cast on the old ministry.

The States, in answer to all this, drew up a large
 memorial, in which every particular in the repre-
 sentation was examined, and fully answered : they
 sent it over to their envoy, who presented it to the
 queen ; but no notice was taken of it : the end was
 already served ; and the entering into a discussion
 about it could have no other effect, but to confound
 those who drew it. The two first heads of the
 States' memorial, that related to the service at sea
 and in Flanders, were printed here, and contained a
 full answer to all that was charged on them, as to
 those matters, to the ample conviction of all who
 examined the particulars. The house of commons
 saw the effect this was like to have ; so they voted
 it a false, malicious, scandalous, and injurious paper,
 and that the printing it was a breach of privilege :
 and to stop the printing the other heads, they put
 the printer in prison. This was a confutation to
 which no reply could be made ; yet it seemed to be
 a confession, that their representation could not be
 justified, when the answer to it was so carefully
 stifled. The house of commons went next to repeal
 the naturalization act, in which they met with no
 opposition.

The self-denying bill was brought into the house
 of commons, and, as was ordinary, it passed easily

The States
justify
themselves.

The self-
denying
bill lost.

1712. there: the scandal of corruption was now higher
 than ever; for it was believed, men were not only
 bribed for a whole session, but had new bribes for
 particular votes. The twelve new peers being brought
 599 into the house of lords, had irritated so many there,
 that for two days, by all the judgments that could
 be made of the house, the bill was likely to have
 passed that house; but upon some prevailing ar-
 guments, secretly and dexterously applied to some
 lords, an alteration was made in it, by which it was
 lost: for whereas the bill, as it stood, was to take
 place after the determination of the present parlia-
 ment, this was altered, so as that it should take
 place after the demise of the queen; so it was no
 more thought on.

The house of commons voted two millions to be
 raised by a lottery; for which a fund was created,
 that might pay both principal and interest in thirty-
 two years.

The treaty
 at Utrecht
 opened.

I look next to Utrecht, where the treaty was
 opened: the emperor and the empire sent their min-
 isters very late and unwillingly thither; but they
 submitted to the necessity of their affairs; yet with
 this condition, that the French proposals (for so
 the propositions, that were formerly called prelimi-
 naries, came to be named) should be no ground to
 proceed on; and that a new treaty should be en-
 tered on, without any regard to them. It was also
 agreed, to save the loss of time in settling the cere-
 monial, that the plenipotentiaries should assume
 no character of dignity, till all matters were ad-
 justed, and made ready for signing. The first of
 January was the day named for opening the con-

gress ; but they waited some time for the allies : in 1712.
the beginning of February, O.S. the French made
their proposals in a very high strain.

They promised that, at the signing of the treaty, ^{The French proposals.} they would own the queen and the succession to the crown, as she should direct ; Spain and the West Indies were to remain with king Philip ; the dominions in Italy, with the islands, except Sicily, were to go to the emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria : the trade was to be regulated as it was before the war ; some places in Canada were to be restored to England, with the freedom of fishery in Newfoundland ; but Placentia was to remain with the French : Dunkirk was offered to be demolished ; but Lisle and Tournay were to be given for it : the States were to have their demands for the barrier ; and the frontier between France, the empire, and Italy, was to be the same that it was before the war ; by which Landau, Fenestrella, and Exiles were to be restored to France. These demands were as extravagant as any that France could have made in the most prosperous state of their affairs : this filled the allies with indignation, and heightened the jealousy they had of a secret understanding between the courts of England and France.

But a great change happened in the affairs of 600
France, at this very time that their plenipotentiaries ^{The death of the two dauphins.} were making these demands at Utrecht : the dauphiness was taken suddenly ill of a surfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days ; and within three or four days after that, the dauphin himself died ; and in a few days after him, his eldest son, about five

1712. or six years old, died likewise; and his second son, then about three years old, was thought to be in a dying condition: these deaths, coming so quick one after another, struck that court: the king himself was for some days ill, but he soon recovered. Such repeated strokes were looked on with amazement: poison was suspected, as is usual upon all such occasions; and the duke of Orleans was generally charged with it: he was believed to have dealt much in chemistry, and was an ambitious prince. While he was in Spain, at the head of king Philip's army, he formed a project to set him aside, and to make himself king of Spain; in which, as the lord Townshend told me, he went so far, that he tried to engage Mr. Stanhope, to press the queen and the States to assist him, promising to break with France, and to marry king Charles's dowager^k. This came to be discovered: he was upon that called out of Spain: and it was thought, that the only thing that saved him was the king's kindness to his natural daughter, whom he had married. The king not only passed it over, but soon after, he obliged the duke of Berry to marry his daughter^l: such care had that old king taken, to corrupt the blood of France with the mixture of his spurious issue. King Philip was not at all pleased with the alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, expostulating for his not opposing the marriage more vigorously: with which he professed himself so displeased, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was sent from Madrid to Paris; but was intercepted, and sent to

^k (The dowager of Charles II. king of Spain.)

^l (Another illegitimate daughter of Louis XIV.)

Barcelona, and from thence to the Hague : Dr. Hare 1712.
told me, he read the original letter ^m.

The duke of Burgundy, when he became dauphin, ^{The character of the dauphin.} upon his father's death, had been let into the understanding the secrets of government ; and, as was given out, he had on many occasions expressed a deep sense of the miseries of the people, with great sentiments of justice : he had likewise, in some disputes that cardinal de Noailles had with the Jesuits, espoused his interests, and protected him. It was also believed, that he retained a great affection to the archbishop of Cambray, whose fable of *Telemachus* carried in it the noblest maxims possible, for the conduct of a wise and good prince, and set forth that station in shining characters, but which were the reverse of Lewis the XIVth's whole life and reign ⁿ. These things gave the French a just sense 601 of the loss they had in his death ; and the apprehensions of a minority, after such a reign, struck them with a great consternation. These deaths, in so critical a time, seemed to portend, that all the vast scheme which the king of France had formed with so much perfidy and bloodshed, was in a fair way to be soon blasted. But I will go no further in so dark a prospect.

The French propositions raised among the true English a just indignation ; more particularly their putting off the owning the queen, till the treaty came to be signed : the lord treasurer, to soften this, ^{An indignation, when the French proposals came over, appeared in both houses.}

^m He was at that time chaplain-general to the English army under the duke of Marlborough, and in our time bishop of Chichester. O.

tion, and of perpetual use and pleasure to others beside princes. It would have adorned the best ages of the ancients. O.

ⁿ A classic in its composi-

1712. said, he saw a letter, in which the king of France acknowledged her queen: this was a confession that there was a private correspondence between them; yet the doing it by a letter was no legal act. In excuse of this it was said, that the late king was not owned by the French, till the treaty of Ryswick came to be signed: but there was a mediator in that treaty, with whom our plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no mediator at Utrecht: so that the queen was now, without any interposition, treating with a prince who did not own her right to the crown. The propositions made by the French were treated here with the greatest scorn; nor did the ministers pretend to say any thing in excuse for them: and an address was made to the queen, expressing a just indignation at such a proceeding, promising her all assistance in carrying on the war, till she should arrive at a just and honourable peace.

The demands of the allies.

The allies did offer their demands next, which ran as high another way: the emperor asked the whole Spanish monarchy; England asked the restoring Newfoundland, and the demolishing of Dunkirk; the States asked their whole barrier; and every ally asked satisfaction to all the other allies, as well as to himself: England and the States declared, that they demanded Spain and the West Indies for the emperor; so the high pattern set by the French in their demands, was to the full imitated by the allies. The French set a day for offering their answer; but when the day came, instead of offering an answer in writing, they proposed to enter into verbal conferences upon the demands made on both sides: this had indeed been practised in treaties

where mediators interposed; but that was not done, 1712.
till the main points were secretly agreed to. The
allies rejected this proposition, and demanded specific answers in writing; so, till the beginning of May, the treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitless meetings, the French always saying, they had yet received no other orders: so that the negotiation there was at a full stand.

The preparations for the campaign were carried 602
on by the emperor and the States with all possible vigour: prince Eugene stayed three months in England in a fruitless negotiation with our court, and was sent back with general and ambiguous promises^o: the States gave him the supreme command of their army, and assured him that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he should be put under no restraint by their deputies or generals, and that no cessation of arms should be ordered, till all was settled by a general peace. The duke of Ormond followed him in April, well satisfied both with his instructions and his appointments; for he had the same allowances that had been lately voted criminal in the duke of Marlborough.

At this time, the pretender was taken ill of the small-pox: he recovered of them; but his sister, who was taken with the same disease, died of it: she was, by all that knew her, admired as a most extraordinary person in all respects; insomuch that a

^o (The emperor having proposed to employ thirty thousand of his own troops in Spain, the charges of which service would amount to four millions of crowns, he offered to take

one million on himself. The government here promised to contribute a third of the four millions. See Oldmixon's Hist. pp. 492. 493.)

Preparations for the campaign.

The pretender's sister died.

1712. very great character was spread of her by those who talked but indifferently of the pretender himself^P: thus he lost a great strength, which she procured to him from all who saw or conversed with her. I turn next to give an account of the convocation.

Proceed-
ings in con-
vocation.

There was a doubt suggested, whether the queen's licence did still subsist, after a prorogation by a royal

P The queen shewed me a letter, wrote in the king of France's own hand, upon the death of her sister; in which there was the highest character that ever was given to any princess of her age. Mr. Richard Hill came straight from the earl of Godolphin's (who had always the best and earliest intelligence from France) to me with the news, and said, it was the worst that ever came to England. I asked him, why he thought so. He said, it had been happy if it had been her brother: for then the queen might have sent for her, and married her to a prince George, who could have no pretensions during her own life; which would have pleased every honest man in the kingdom, and made an end of all disputes for the future. D. (This princess, whose name was Louisa, was twenty years of age when she died, having been born between three and four years after the revolution. There is a print of her, with her brother, in Mr. Rodd's Catalogue of Portraits. Madame de Maintenon in her *Correspondence with the Princess Des Ursins*, lately published in this coun-

try, after frequently mentioning the princess Louisa with commendation in former letters, thus speaks of her after her decease. "I had the honour of passing two hours with the queen of England, who is the very image of desolation. The princess had become her friend and only consolation. The French at Saint Germain's are as desolate at her loss as the English, and indeed all who knew her loved her most sincerely. She was truly amiable, cheerful, affable, anxious to please; attached to her duties, and fulfilling them all without a murmur, docile to her governess as at the age of six, having a real affection for the queen, her mother; her chief happiness consisted in pleasing her; she was affectionately devoted to the king, her brother, and thought only of preventing his leaving the queen, which he is sometimes apt to do in his little court; it was in the exercise of these virtues that God has taken her to himself." Let. cciv. p. 378.)

writ: the attorney-general^q gave his opinion, that it was still in force; upon which, the bishops went on with the resolution in which the former session had ended, and sent back to the lower house a paper, which had been sent to them from that house in the former session, with such amendments as they thought proper: but then Atterbury started a new notion, that as, in a session of parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finished, so that they were to begin all a-new, the same rule was to be applied to convocations, in pursuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in parliament were likewise to be observed amongst them. The bishops did not agree to this: for, upon searching their books, they found a course of precedents to the contrary: and the schedule, by which the archbishop prorogued them when the royal writ was sent him, did, in express words, continue all things in the state in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not satisfy Atterbury and his party; so the lower house ordered him to lay the matter before the attorney-general for his opinion: he did that very partially, for he did not shew him the paper sent down by the bishops; he only gave him a very defective abstract of it; whereupon the attorney-general gave him such an answer as he desired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The bishops resolved to adhere 603 to the method of former convocations, and not to begin matters afresh that had been formerly near finished. By this means they were at a full stop, so that they could not determine those points which had been recommended to them by the queen; but

^q Northey. O.

1712. they entered upon new ones. There was then a bill in the house of parliament, for building fifty new churches in and about London and Westminster; so an office for consecrating churches and churchyards was prepared: and probably this will be all the fruit that the church will reap from this convocation.

Censure on Whiston's books not confirmed by the queen.

The censure that was passed on Whiston's book, in the former session, had been laid before the queen in due form, for her approbation: but at the opening of this session in December, the bishops, finding that no return was come from the throne in that matter, sent two of their number to receive her majesty's pleasure in it; the archbishop being so ill of the gout, that he came not among us all that winter. The queen had put the censure that we had sent her, into the hands of some of her ministers, but could not remember to whom she gave it; so a new extract of it was sent to her; and she said, she would send her pleasure upon it very speedily: but none came during the session, so all further proceedings against him were stopped, since the queen did not confirm the step that we had made. This was not unacceptable to some of us, and to myself in particular; I was gone into my diocese, when that censure was passed; and I have ever thought, that the true interest of the Christian religion was best consulted, when nice disputing about mysteries was laid aside and forgotten ^r.

^r I have heard it said, that Mr. Chillingworth (that great and impartial searcher for truth) was for some time an Athanasian; then an Arian; but growing dissatisfied with both,

or any other supposed explanation of the Trinity, resorted to this, "that God had not yet so revealed it to man as to be an object of belief in any sense at present among

There appeared at this time an inclination in 1712. many of the clergy, to a nearer approach towards the church of Rome; Hicks, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the Jacobite party, had in several books promoted a notion, that there was a proper sacrifice made in the eucharist, and had on many occasions studied to lessen our aversion to popery: the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, and the method in which the reformation was carried, was openly condemned: one Brett had preached a sermon in several of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed; in which he pressed the necessity of priestly absolution, in a strain beyond what was pretended to, even in the church of Rome: he said no repentance could serve without it, and affirmed, that the priest was vested with the same power of pardoning that our Saviour himself had. A motion was made in the lower house of convocation, to censure this; but it was so

An inclination in some of the clergy towards popery.

“them.” See the Life of Lord Clarendon, p. 29, and the Sydney papers. Are there not many other *presumptions* in all church systems, in which the compilers of them should have had the same modesty of doubt and reserve to God’s future revelation, that Mr. Chillingworth had with regard to the Trinity? How many angry and bitter disputes among, otherwise, very good men, had been prevented by this temperament! How much Christian charity and union been preserved by it, and the Christian character unblemished! O. (With relation to Mr. Chillingworth, the circumstances of

whose life shew him to have been raised above all self-interested motives, he subscribed in the latter part of his time the articles of the church of England, in which the catholic doctrine of the Trinity is fully set forth. Still he is supposed to have subscribed them, as articles of peace rather than of belief; which, if true, weakens the argument for his orthodoxy. As for Whiston’s defence of Arianism, or, as he styled his opinions, Eusebianism, it was proper for the church of England to condemn a work opposed to a doctrine, which the Christian church in all ages has considered as fundamental.)

1712. ill supported, that it was let fall. Another conceit
 ————— was taken up, of the invalidity of lay-baptism, on
 604 which several books have been writ; nor was the
 dispute a trifling one, since, by this notion, the
 teachers among the dissenters passing for laymen,
 this went to the re-baptizing them and their congregations.

Dodwell's
 notions.

Dodwell gave the rise to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a strict life; he seemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be saved, but those who by the sacraments had a federal right to it; and that these were the seals of the covenant: so that he left all who died without the sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the sacraments, but those who were commissioned to it; and these were the apostles, and after them, bishops and priests ordained by them: it followed upon this, that sacraments administered by others were of no value. He pursued these notions so far, that he asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons episcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the episcopal function so high, he did not lay the original of that government on any instruction or warrant in the scripture: but thought it was set up in the beginning of the second century, after the apostles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time in which the canon of the New Testament was settled; he thought it was not before the second century, and that an extraordinary inspiration was continued in the churches to that very time, to

which he ascribed the original of episcopacy. This 1712.
 strange and precarious system was in great credit among us; and the necessity of the sacrament, and the invalidity of ecclesiastical functions, when performed by persons who were not episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause: this made the dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: and several little books were spread about the nation, to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done; but few were by these arguments prevailed upon to be re-baptized: this struck even at the baptism by midwives in the church of Rome; which was practised and connived at here in England, till it was objected in the conference held at Hampton-Court, soon after king James the first's accession to the crown, and baptism was not till then limited to persons in orders: nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by dissenters; but it was now promoted with much heat.

The bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to 605
 this new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration was agreed to, first against the irregularity of all baptism by persons who were not in holy orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the church of England, no baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The archbishop of York at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it in the name of all the bishops of England; but he was prevailed

The bishops designed to condemn the re-baptizing dissenters.

1712. on to change his mind ; and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism^s : so the archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the bishops of his province, resolved to offer it to the convocation. It was agreed to in the upper house, the bishop of Rochester only dissenting^t : but when it was sent to the lower house, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside ; thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood. This was all that passed in convocation.

But the clergy did not agree to it.

Great supplies given.

The supplies demanded were given, in all about six millions ; there were two lotteries of 1,800,000*l.* a-piece, besides the four shillings in the pound, and the malt bill. A motion was made, for a clause to be put in one of the lottery bills, for a commission to inquire into the value and consideration of all the grants made by king William. The ministers apprehended the difficulty of carrying a money bill with a tack to it, through the house of lords ; so they prevailed to get it separated from the money bill, and sent up in a particular one ; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the house of lords,

^s (“Whoever reads this passage respecting the archbishop, will be apt,” (writes the son of the archbishop,) “to take for granted, that the archbishop of York first agreed to the declaration ; that upon his agreeing thereto, it was resolved to publish it, and that he afterwards changed his mind, and refused to sign it. Whereas, though the resolution to publish such a declaration was

“founded on his agreement with the rest of the bishops in their judgment upon the validity of lay baptisms, yet he was not apprised of any such resolution, till the archbishop of Canterbury communicated it to him, and then he disapproved of it.” *Life of Archbishop Sharp by his Son.* Vol. I. p. 375.)

^t (Sprat, no deep divine, but an ingenious and fine writer.)

a great party was made against it; those who continued to pay a respect to the memory of king William, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the nation from slavery and popery, to cast so particular an indignity on his grants: the bill made all its steps through the house of lords to the last, with a small majority of one or two. The earl of Nottingham was absent the first two days, but came to the house on the last: he said, he always thought those grants were too large, and very unseasonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to resume them all, or to bring all concerned in them, to an equal composition: he therefore could not approve of this bill, which by a very clear consequence would put it in the power of a fellow-subject, to resume or to cover grants at his pleasure; and so it would put the persons concerned in the grants, into too great a dependance on him. At the last reading of the 606 bill, seventy-eight, in person or by proxy, were for the bill; and as many were against it: the votes being equal, by the rule of the house the negative carried it: so, for that time, the bill was lost.

During the session, reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the treaty was as good as finished: but new stories were set on foot, and pretended delays, to put off the expectation of peace; however, in the end of May, we were surprised with letters from the camp, which told us, that the army of the allies, being joined, was 25,000 men stronger than the French; an advantage that they never had before, during the whole course of the war. That prince Eugene therefore proposed,

1712. that they should march towards the head of the Scheld, where the French army lay, and upon their advancing, the French would be obliged either to venture on action, or to retire; and in that case Cambray would be left open to the allies, to sit down before it. The council of war agreed to this, but to their great surprise, the duke of Ormond shewed orders, not to act offensively against the French; he seemed to be very uneasy with these orders, but said he must obey them. This was much resented by the whole army, and by the ministers of the allies at the Hague and at Utrecht: and it struck us here in England with amazement ^u.

The duke of Ormond ordered not to act offensively.

Motions were made upon it, in both houses of parliament; for it seemed we were neither to have peace nor war: so it was proposed, that an address should be made to the queen, that she would set the duke of Ormond at liberty, to act in concurrence with the other generals, and carry on the war, so as to obtain a good peace. Those who opposed this, asked what proofs they had of what was said concerning the duke of Ormond's orders; they had only private letters, which were not produced: so it was said, there was not ground enough to found an ad-

^u Lord Bolingbroke used to say, that the restraining orders to the duke of Ormond, were proposed at the cabinet council, in the queen's presence, by the earl of Oxford, who had not communicated his intention to the rest of the ministers; and that the lord Bolingbroke was on the point of giving his opinion against it, when the queen, without suffering the matter to be debated, directed

these orders to be sent, and broke up the council. This story was told by the late lord Bolingbroke to my father. H. (" Lord Oxford, in his answer " to the 9th article of impeachment, insinuates, that the " restraining orders flowed entirely from the queen. History of Impeachments, page " 287." Somerville's *Hist. of Queen Anne*, ch. xix. p. 481.)

dress upon; which ought not to be made on bare reports. The ministers would neither confess nor deny the matter, pretending the oath of secrecy; yet they affirmed the duke of Ormond was at liberty to cover a siege. 1712.

That which prevailed in both houses, to hinder the address, was, that the ministers in both did affirm, that the peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four days: it was upon that suggested, that this must be a separate peace, since the allies knew nothing of it. The lord treasurer said, a separate peace was so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but it would appear to be a safe and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation, than the preliminaries that were agreed to three years before: he also affirmed, that the allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it: so the motion fell; and all were in great expectation to see what a few days would produce. In order to this, it was proposed to examine into all the proceedings at the Hague, and at Gertruydenberg, in the years 1709 and 1710; this was set on by a representation made by the earl of Strafford; for he affirmed in the house of lords, that those matters had not been fairly represented; he said, he had his information from one of the two who had been employed in those conferences: by this, it was plain he meant Buys. Lord Townshend had informed the house, that those who treated with the French at Gertruydenberg did, at their return, give an account of their negotiation to the ministers of the allies, in the pensioner's presence, before they reported

A separate peace dis-owned by the lord treasurer.

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1712. it to the States themselves : but upon this, the earl of Strafford said, they had been first secretly with the pensioner, who directed them both what to say and what to suppress. Upon this, the house made an address to the queen, desiring her to lay before them all that passed at that time, and in that negotiation : but nothing followed upon this ; for it was said to be designed only to amuse the house.

The queen,
by the bi-
shop of
Bristol, said
she was free
from all her
treaties
with the
States.

Surprises came at this time quick one after another : at Utrecht, on the second of June, N. S. the plenipotentiaries of the States expostulated with the bishop of Bristol, upon the orders sent to the duke of Ormond : he answered, he knew nothing of them ; but said, he had received a letter, two days before, from the queen, in which she complained, that notwithstanding all the advances she had made, to engage the States to enter with her upon a plan of peace, they had not answered her as they ought, and as she hoped they would have done : therefore she did now think herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, to obtain a peace for her own convenience. The plenipotentiaries said, this was contrary to all their alliances and treaties ; they thought that, by the deference they had shewed her on all occasions, they had merited much better usage from her : they knew nothing of any advances made to them on a plan of peace. The bishop replied, that considering the conduct of the States, the queen thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with them : the bishop did not in express words name the barrier treaty ; but he did not except it : so they reckoned it was included in the general words he had used. This did not agree with what the lord treasurer had said in the house

of lords: and when the States' envoy complained ^{1712.} to him of these declarations made them by the bi-608 shop, all the answer he made was, *that he was certainly in a very bad humour, when he talked at that rate.*

On the fifth of June, the queen came to the parliament, and told them on what terms a peace might be had: king Philip was to renounce the succession to the crown of France, if it should devolve on him; and this was to execute itself, by putting the next to him into the succession: Sicily was to be separated from Spain, though it was not yet settled who should have it. The protestant succession was to be secured; and he who had pretended to the crown was no more to be supported. Dunkirk was to be demolished, and Newfoundland to be delivered to England. Gibraltar and Port Mahon were to remain in our hands: we were also to have the *Assiento*, a word importing the furnishing the Spanish West Indies with slaves from Africa. The Dutch were to have their barrier, except two or three places: and due regard would be had to all our allies.

Both houses agreed to make addresses of thanks to the queen, for communicating this plan to them, desiring her to *finish it*: an addition to these last words, *in conjunction with her allies*, was moved in both houses; that so there might be a guarantee settled for the maintaining the terms of the treaty: but it was rejected by a great majority in both houses*. It was said, in opposition to it, that it

The queen laid before the parliament the plan of the peace.

Addresses of both houses upon it.

* (Eighty-two against thirty-six in the house of lords. See Oldmixon's Hist. p. 501, and

Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hist. p. 270.)

1712. would subject the queen and the whole treaty to the pleasure of the allies, who might prove backward and intractable: and since England had borne the greatest share of the burden of the war, it was reasonable that the queen should be the arbiter of the peace^y. On the other hand it was said, that if the allies did not enter into a guarantee, we must depend on the faith of the French, and be at their mercy; and so have nothing to trust to, but the promises of a court noted, in a course of many years, for a train of perfidy: but many had formed an obstinate resolution to get out of the war on any terms: so nothing that was offered, that seemed to obstruct the arriving speedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the faith of treaties: yet both houses observed one caution, not to express their being satisfied with the plan of the peace, though it was covertly insinuated. Mention was also made of our treaties with our allies, and of the protestant succession: the lords, who had all along protested against the steps that the court had taken, entered the reasons of their protesting against the negative put on adding the words, *in conjunction with her allies*, and on the former vote, concerning the orders sent to the duke of Ormond: these carried in them such just and 609 severe reflections on the ministry, as running the

y N. B. The nation in general, at that time, ran warmly into the peace, from a persuasion artfully worked up and propagated, that we had been the dupes of our allies: the first thing which gave the turn another way, was the unpopularity of the treaty of com-

merce, which the merchants of both sides agreed to condemn. Politicians of a higher order had reason to lament the not restoring Spain and the West Indies to a prince of the house of Austria, or of the house of Savoy. H.

nation into an open breach of all public trust, and putting every thing into the hands of the French, that by the strength of the majority they were expunged; yet they were printed, and copies of them were sent over the nation; but nothing could break through that insensibility which had stupified the people. A new set of addresses ran about, full of gross flattery, magnifying the present conduct, with severe reflections on the former ministry, which some carried back to king William's reign: some of these addresses mentioned the protestant succession, and the house of Hanover, with zeal; others did it more coldly; and some made no mention at all of it. And it was universally believed, that no addresses were so acceptable to the ministers, as those of the last sort^z. 1712.

About the middle of June, the session of parliament came to an end: the queen in her speech said, she was glad to find they approved of her scheme of peace, though that was in none of the addresses; many, who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had indeed magnified it in both houses, but it was not in either of their addresses. The earl of Strafford was again sent over, to induce the States to accept the offers that the French were making, and to consent to a cessation of arms. The end of the session of parliament.

Prince Eugene ordered Quesnoy to be besieged; and he, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, covered the siege; but when the place was so straitened, that it could not hold out above two or three days, the duke of Ormond sent prince Eugene word, that he had orders to proclaim a cessa- The duke of Ormond proclaims a cessation of arms, and left prince Eugene's army.

^z Foolish and factious. S.

1712. tion of arms for two months. Prince Eugene disagreeing to this, he signified his orders to all the German troops that were in the queen's pay: but the States and the emperor had foreseen that this might happen, and had negotiated so effectually with the princes to whom these troops belonged, that they had sent orders to their generals, to continue with prince Eugene, and to obey his command. This they represented to the duke of Ormond; and he upon that told them, they should have neither bread, nor pay, nor their arrears, if they refused to obey his orders: this last seemed unjust, since they had served hitherto according to agreement; so that their arrears could not be detained with any colour of justice ^a. Quesnoy capitulated, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. It was said, that the court of France had promised to put Dunkirk in the queen's hands, as a sure pledge of per-

Quesnoy
taken.

^a (Lord Bolingbroke thus expresses himself on the conduct of the German troops in the queen of England's pay: "We are very much at a loss to imagine, what the princes can mean or propose to themselves, to whom these troops belong. A beggarly German general commands the troops, which have been so many years paid by her majesty, and which are actually so at this time, to desert from the queen, and to leave her subject-forces, for ought they knew, exposed to be attacked by the enemy; this, I confess, is surprising, and what very few instances can be produced to parallel. I

" assure you, that the matter
" will be carried high here. I
" think the queen, and all who
" serve her, are determined to
" resent this insult offered to
" the British nation by our
" mercenaries. We shall have
" money to spare, and I believe
" shall employ it to make
" those fear our force, who have
" not been gained upon by
" our kindness. The northern
" ministers begin already to be
" alarmed at the equipment of
" a very strong squadron for
" the Baltic; they will soon
" discover that the States, who
" were to invade us, cannot
" fit one fleet to cope with our
" channel guard." *Letters of Lord Bolingbroke*, II. 422.)

forming all that they had stipulated, in order to a 1712.
 general peace; this was executed in the beginning
 of July; and a body of our troops, with a squadron
 of ships, were sent to take possession of the place. 610
 The duke of Ormond made a second attempt on the
 generals of the German troops, to see if they would
 agree to the cessation of arms: but they excused
 themselves, upon the orders they had received from
 their masters: so he proclaimed the cessation at the
 head of the English troops; upon which he separated
 himself from prince Eugene's army, and retired to
 Ghendt and Bruges, possessing himself of them: the
 fortified places near the frontier had orders to let
 the officers pass through, but not to suffer the troops
 to possess themselves of them. The withdrawing the
 English forces in this manner from the confederate
 army, was censured, not only as a manifest breach
 of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the
 highest and basest degree. The duke of Ormond
 had given the States such assurances of his going
 along with them through the whole campaign, that
 he was let into the secrets of all their counsels,
 which, by that confidence, were all known to the
 French: and if the auxiliary German troops had
 not been prepared to disobey his orders, it was
 believed he, in conjunction with the French army,
 would have forced the States to come into the
 new measures^b. But that was happily

^b Vile Scot, dare to touch Ormond's honour, and so falsely. S. (See the dean's account and defence of this cessation of arms, in his History of the Four last Years of the Queen, pp. 294—305, 317—336, and p. 347; with Ralph's

Use and Abuse of Parliaments, vol. I. pp. 182—185, and the Life of the Duke of Ormond, pp. 448—529; but compare Coxe's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. III. ch. 109, pp. 520—524. The duke of Ormond appears afterwards to

1712. prevented; yet all this conduct of our general was applauded at home as great, just, and wise; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon Dunkirk's being put into our hands; not considering that we had more truly put ourselves into the hands of the French, by this open breach of faith; after which, the confederates could no longer trust or depend on us. Nor was this only the act of the court and ministry, but it became the act of the nation, which, by a general voice, did not only approve of it, but applaud it.

Landrecy
besieged.

Prince Eugene's next attempt was upon Landrecy, in which it seemed probable that he would succeed; but this prospect, and indeed the whole campaign, had a fatal reverse: there was a body of 8000 or 10,000 men posted at Denain, on the Scheld, commanded by the earl of Albermarle, to secure the conveying bread and ammunition to the army, and to the siege^c. Villars made a motion, as if he de-

have been willing to oblige the French at the expense of the allies; for when the Dutch had formed a design for surprising either Newport or Furnes, he in a letter, October 21, in this year, proposed to secretary St. John, "that if it should be thought more fit for her majesty's service to prevent it, some means should be found out to give advice of it to Mr. de Villars, who may possibly think we owe him that good office in requital of some information he has given me." Compare Oldmixon's Hist. p. 505, and Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hist. p. 297. But the duke's reason

for adopting this line of conduct was, to secure the free communication between the British troops which were in Ghent, and Bruges, and Dunkirk. And when some remote hints were given by the French, that the queen should unite her forces with theirs to compel the confederates to a peace, it was answered, that no provocations whatever should prevail with her to distress her allies. See the Duke of Ormond's Life, p. 529, and Swift's Four last Years, p. 347.)

^c The duke of Marlborough is reported to have said, in his gentle, whining manner, upon seeing a plan of the siege,

signed to give prince Eugene battle; but after a 1712.
 feint that way, he turned quick upon this body,
 that lay on both sides of the river, with only one
 bridge of pontoons: the rest had been sent to the
 siege of Landrecy; and there was not a supply of
 more brought. That bridge, with the weight that
 was on it, broke; so the bodies could not be
 joined; but military men assured me, that, if it had
 not been for that misfortune, Villars's attempt might
 have turned fatally on himself, and to the ruin of
 his whole army. But in conclusion, he gave them
 a total defeat, and so made himself master of those
 posts which they were to defend. This opened a
 new scene; it not only forced the raising the siege
 of Landrecy, but gave Villars an occasion to seize
 on Marchiennes and some other places, where he
 found great stores of artillery and ammunition; and
 furnished him likewise with an opportunity of sit-
 ting down before Doway. What errors were com-
 mitted, either in the counsels or orders, or in the
 execution of them, and at whose door these ought
 to be laid, is far above my understanding in military
 matters: but be that as it will, this misfortune served
 not a little to raise the duke of Marlborough's cha-
 racter, under whose command no such thing had

A great loss
 at Denain
 brought a
 reverse on
 the cam-
 paign.

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"I am under apprehension for
 "lord Albemarle." Prince Eu-
 gene's conduct was certainly li-
 able to censure, in establishing
 his entrepôt at a distance from
 his stores, and having no more
 bridges over the Scheldt. H.
 (Swift says, in p. 346. of his
 History above referred to, that
 the blame of this defeat "was
 "equally shared between prince

"Eugene and the earl, although
 "it is certain, that the duke of
 "Ormond gave the latter time-
 "ly warning of his danger, ob-
 "serving he was neither en-
 "trenched as he ought, nor
 "provided with bridges suffi-
 "cient for the situation he was
 "in, and at such a distance
 "from the main army.")

1712. ever happened. The effects of this disgrace were great; Doway was taken, after a long and brave defence; prince Eugene tried to raise the siege, but did not succeed in it: indeed the States would not put things to so great a venture, after such a loss; the garrison were made prisoners of war. Quesnoy was next besieged; the great artillery, that had been employed in the siege, were left in the place: the garrison improved that advantage; so that the taking it cost the enemy very dear.

Distrac-
tions at the
Hague.

These losses created a great distraction in the counsels at the Hague; many were inclined to accept of a cessation; the emperor and the princes of the empire made great offers to the States, to persuade them to continue the war; at the same time the French grew very insolent upon their successes, and took occasion, from a quarrel between the footmen of one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant reparation; which the Dutch not complying with, a full stop was put to all proceedings at Utrecht for some months. Our court took some pains to remove that obstruction; but the French king's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable: St. John, being made viscount Bolingbroke, was sent over with secret instructions to the court of France; where, as it was believed, the peace was fully concluded: but all that was published upon his return, was a new cessation of arms, both by sea and land, for four months longer. Duke Hamilton was named to go ambassador to France, and lord Lexington to Spain. The earl of Strafford continued to press the States to come into the queen's measures, which, it was said, he managed with great imperiousness:

the States resolved to offer their plan to the queen, 1712.
 in which they pressed the restoring Strazbourg to
 the empire, to have Valenciennes demolished, and
 Condé added to their barrier, and that the old tariff
 for trade should be again restored.

The lord Lexington went first to Spain, where 612
 the Cortes were summoned, in which that king did
 solemnly renounce, for himself and his heirs, the
 right of succession to the crown of France; and li-
 mited the succession to the crown of Spain, after
 his own posterity, to the house of Savoy. The like
 renunciation was made some months after that by
 the princes of France to the crown of Spain: and
 Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the
 crown of France. It was something strange to see
 so much weight laid on these renunciations, since
 the king of France had so often and so solemnly
 declared, (upon his claiming, in the right of his queen,
 the Spanish Netherlands; when the renunciation
 made by his queen before the marriage, pursuant to
 the treaty of the Pyrenees, of all rights of succession
 to her father's dominions, was objected to him,) that
 no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could
 destroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of
 nature: but this was now forgot, or very little con-
 sidered. At this time the order of the garter had
 nine vacant stalls; so six knights were at one time
 promoted; the dukes of Beaufort, Hamilton, and
 Kent; and the earls of Oxford, Powlet, and Straf-
 ford. The duke of Hamilton's being appointed to
 go to the court of France, gave melancholy specu-
 lations to those who thought him much in the pre-
 tender's interest: he was considered, not only in
 Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his

The renun-
 ciation of
 the succes-
 sions in
 Spain and
 France.

1712. party; but a dismal accident put an end to his life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his embassy.

Duke of
Hamilton
and lord
Mohun
both killed
in a com-
bat.

He and the lord Mohun were engaged in some suits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: so that, upon a very high provocation, the lord Mohun sent him a challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried by those false points of honour, they fatally went out to Hyde Park, in the middle of November, and fought with so violent an animosity, that, neglecting the rules of art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the lord Mohun was killed outright, and duke Hamilton died in a few minutes after^d. I will add no character of him: I am sorry I cannot say so much good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him, to say any evil without necessity. Nor shall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of those unchristian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed so universally, that there is little hope left of seeing them rooted out of the minds of

^d Wrongly told. S. (Wrongly indeed, if Mr. Charles Hamilton's account of this duel be true. See his *Transactions during the Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 270—280. The duke in the belief of some was killed by general Macartney the lord Mohun's second. Compare Swift's *Four last Years of the Queen*, p. 366, Torcy's *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 370, Smollet's *Hist. of England*, (Queen Anne,) chap. xi. pp. 256, 257,

Macpherson's *Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. II. p. 578, Oldmixon's *Hist.* p. 511, Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, p. 298, Lockhart of Carnwarth's *Commentaries*, lately printed, p. 401—406. Hamilton and Macartney's *Trials*. Without reference to this affair, Macartney is reported to have been a man of vile character. See Lucas's *Lives of Gamesters*, &c. pp. 217, 218.)

men; the false notions of honour and courage being 1712.
too strong to be weighed down by prudent or religious considerations.

The duke of Shrewsbury was, upon duke Hamil- 613
ton's death, named for the embassy to France, and The duke of Shrewsbury sent to France, and duke de Aumont came to England.
went over in the end of December: the same yacht
that carried him to Calais, brought over the duke
de Aumont, the French ambassador, who was a
good-natured and generous man, of profuse expense,
throwing handfuls of money often out of his coach,
as he went about the streets: he was not thought
a man of business, and seemed to employ himself
chiefly in maintaining the dignity of his character,
and making himself acceptable to the nation. I
turn next to foreign affairs.

The war in Pomerania went on but slowly, though The affairs in the north.
the czar and the kings of Denmark and Poland
joined their forces; upon which it was thought
the interest of Sweden must have sunk in those
parts: but the feebleness of one or other of those
princes lost them great advantages. Steinbock, the
Swedish general, seeing the Danes were separated
from their allies, made a quick march toward them;
and though the Saxons had joined them before he
came up, yet he attacked them. The action was
hot, and lasted some hours; but it ended in a complete
victory on the Swedish side. At the same time
the Swedes were animated by reports from
Constantinople, which gave them hopes of the war
between the Turks and the czar being like to break
out again, which the king of Sweden continued to
solicit, and in which he had all the assistance that
the French could give him.

This gave the emperor great apprehensions, that

1712. disorders in Hungary might follow upon it, which would defeat the measures he had taken to settle matters in that kingdom, so that being safe on that side, he might turn his whole force against France, and by that means encourage the States to continue the war. Those in Holland, who pressed the accepting the offers that France made them, represented that as a thing not possible to be supported: the promises of the emperor and the princes of the empire had so often failed them, that they said, they could not be relied on: and the distractions in the north made them apprehend, that those princes might be obliged to recall their troops which were in the service of the States.

The emperor prepares for the war with France.

A new barrier treaty with the States.

The earl of Strafford was sent back to the Hague with the French plan, which came to be called the queen's plan: but to draw them in the more, he was ordered to enter upon a new barrier treaty with them, by which the former was to be set aside: by it the States were to maintain the succession to the crown, when required to it by the queen, but not otherwise. This gave still new occasions for jealousy: for whereas by the former treaty they were strictly bound to maintain the succession, so that they were obliged to oppose any attempts they saw made against it; they were by this treaty obliged to stay, till they were sent to: and if our ministers should come to entertain ill designs that way, they would take care no notice should be given to the States. The barrier for the Dutch came far short of the former; the States wrote another letter to the queen, desiring her to interpose for restoring Strazbourg to the empire, for adding Condé to their barrier, and for settling the commerce on-

the foot of the ancient tariff; as also for obtaining more reasonable terms for the emperor: but things were so fixed between the court of France and ours, that there was no room for intercession. 1712.

The earl of Godolphin died of the stone in September: he was the man of the clearest head, the calmest temper, and the most incorrupt of all the ministers of state I have ever known. After having been thirty years in the treasury, and during nine of those lord treasurer, as he was never once suspected of corruption, or of suffering his servants to grow rich under him, so in all that time his estate was not increased by him to the value of 4000*l*^e. He served the queen with such a particular affection and zeal, that he studied to possess all people with great personal esteem for her^f: and she herself

The death
of the earl
of Godol-
phin.

His charac-
ter.

^e A great lie. S. I have heard it was 3500*l*. a very small acquisition, not more than half of his salary as lord treasurer, and his expenses did not seem to be more than the other half. His family estate came to him but a few years before he died, upon the death of sir William Godolphin, his elder brother. He (I have been told) was a very worthy man, had great abilities for business, but would never be in any. His brother, it is said, often consulted him, and relied very much upon his judgment. He chose and loved retirement, and to have it in London. O. (Sir William Godolphin had been ambassador in Spain for the space of eight years after 1670, as appears from a work entitled *Hispania Illustrata*, published in 1703.)

^f I was the first who brought the news of his death to the queen: she seemed to be concerned, and told me, she could not help being so, for she had a long acquaintance with him, and did believe, what she or any body else had to complain of, was owing to the influence the Marlborough family had over him; but she did not think him to be naturally an interested man. I told her, I always took the last part to be an affectation, for I observed, though he had the grimace of refusing every thing before he received it, he had contrived to make his family heir to theirs, and could with more decency promote their interest than his own, and was sure of having advantage to himself at last. She laughed, and said, truly she had observed a good deal

1712. seemed to be so sensible of this for many years, that if courts were not different from all other places in the world, it might have been thought, that his wise management at home, and the duke of Marlborough's glorious conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their posts, above the little practices of an artful favourite, and the cunning of a man, who has not hitherto shewed any token of a great genius, and is only eminent in the arts of deluding those that hearken to him^g.

of what I said, herself; but desired I would hinder, as much as I could, any scurrilities coming out upon him; which I promised, and performed to her satisfaction. I afterwards told her, I heard the duchess of Marlborough and his own family gave out that he died very poor. The queen said, she was very sorry he had suffered so much in her service; for at the revolution, he brought twenty thousand guineas, for her to take care of, which she did for some time after, and they were constantly removed with her, wherever she went. He was lord treasurer, his son cofferer, and his daughter-in-law a lady of the bedchamber for eight years of queen Anne's reign: both himself and family lived very meanly for the great and profitable posts they were in. When he died, he left no will, and when he was pressed to make one, said he had but one child, therefore there was no occasion to make any. He never bought any land, but had very considerable grants; and his son was advanced five [hun-

dred] thousand pounds every year, upon the land tax, since the queen's death. The earl of Finlater, who was much in lord Godolphin's confidence, told me, that a little before the change of the ministry, he told him, that Frybey, the Dutch envoy, had threatened to set the parliament upon him, if he did not comply with all the unreasonable demands the Dutch were pleased to make; and he believed they had a party strong enough to accomplish it; but said, it was impossible to carry on the war, or make peace, upon the foot we then were, and nothing but the credit of a new ministry could do either; which, with other observations, gave me a suspicion, that there was an understanding between him and the queen to the last. D.

^g (Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley, created earl of Oxford, are here meant. The earl of Godolphin's character is well drawn by Macpherson in his Hist. of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 462. He appears to have uniformly felt, according to his

Upon the earl of Godolphin's death, the duke of 1712.
 Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond sea; ^{The duke of Marlborough went to live beyond sea.} he executed it in the end of November; and his duchess followed him in the beginning of February^h. This was variously censured; some pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his country; and they represented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to secure himself. Others were glad he was safe out of ill hands; whereby, if we should fall into the convulsions of a civil war, he would be able to assist the elector of Hanover, as being so entirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had stayed in England, it was not to be doubted, but upon the least shadow of suspicion he would have been immediately secured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be occasion for it.

There were two suits begun against him: the one 615
 was for the two and a half per cent., that the foreign

professions made frequently to the house of Stuart, a real attachment to its interests, see notes on vol. I. of Burnet's Hist. pp. 479, 621, folio edit. and on vol. II. p. 403.)

^h Before the duchess of Marlborough set out for Holland, she sent to me for a pass: I sent one signed by the queen; which she returned, and sent me word, if one of my own were not sufficient, she would go without any, which I sent immediately. She made presents to all her friends, expecting, as she said, never to see them more; and chose Mrs.

Higgins, a gentlewoman in low circumstances, and not much her acquaintance, to bestow an enamelled picture of the queen upon, which she had given her when princess, that had been set round with diamonds; but those her grace thought worth the keeping. Mrs. Higgins, who understood it was done as an affront to the queen, rather than a compliment to herself, having no pretensions to such an honour, delivered it to lord Oxford, who presented her with a hundred guineas, and kept the picture. D.

1712. princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim house. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the acts of parliament that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was said the queen built the house for him: yet now that the tradesmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000*l*. the queen refused to pay any more; and set them upon suing the duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of themⁱ. Upon his going beyond sea, both those suits were stayed; which gave occasion to people to imagine, that the ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect put on a man whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot, only to render his stay in England uneasy to him^k.

ⁱ But had received the money that was to have paid them, as both lord Oxford and lord Bingley told me. D. (See also lord Dartmouth's note at p. 313. Compare Coxe's *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, vol. III. ch. 109, p. 530.)

^k His going, his staying, and his return, afforded many observations not very favourable to him. The whole is a mystery, that time perhaps will never unfold. It is enough for us, that he, who was the first man of this country, was confessedly the first man of the age. O. I have seen, amongst

Mr. Robethon's papers, several letters from the duke of Marlborough, in his own hand, to the elector of Hanover, professing the strongest zeal and attachment to his interest, pointing out the methods by which his adversaries in England were endeavouring to undermine the protestant succession, offering to go over whenever his (the elector's) service made it necessary; and, in fact, the duke appears to have accepted a commission to command the army, in case of the queen's sudden death, and lord Cadogan was to act under him,

Our army continued this winter about Ghendt 1712.
and Bruges : and we kept a sort of garrison in Dun-

as his deputy. Particular care was to be taken about securing the garrison of Dunkirk. The court of Hanover was not very alert about securing the succession. The elector was not only very backward in sending over his son, (though much pressed to it by all his friends in England,) but declined borrowing a sum no larger than ———, which his friends represented to him was absolutely necessary for secret services, pensions to lords, &c. I have likewise read, amongst the papers collected by Carte, draughts of letters from lord Middleton and king James's queen, to the duke of Marlborough, in 1710; by which it appears, that his grace had (when the ministry changed in England) made the strongest professions of his attachment to the Stewart family. H. (Compare Macpherson's History of Great Britain, vol. II. c. 8 and 9, pp. 454, 457, 578, and Somerville's Hist. of Queen Anne, ch. xxiii. p. 565 note. Archdeacon Coxe, who, in his Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. III. c. 106, p. 480, does not admit the reality of the design attributed to him of restoring the Stuart family, says, in page 531, that "he shall not attempt to detail any farther circumstances of this mysterious transaction, (the duke's departure,) which we have no clue to unravel, but merely observe, that it received the entire approbation of the

"queen; for, in a conversation with the duchess of Hamilton, she said, 'The duke of Marlborough has acted wisely in going abroad.'"
"Lord Cowper's Diary." Oldmixon, on the authority of Mr. Maynwaring, relates, that the pass, which was procured by means of the earl of Oxford, was accompanied with a letter from the queen, expressing how well pleased she should be with the honourable reception of his grace in foreign countries, p. 512. The duke's departure out of England is accounted for in the following way by Lockhart of Carnwarth in his lately published Commentaries:
"The process against the duke for stopping the percentage from the pay of the foreign troops was commenced at the instance of the house of commons, but soon afterwards it dropped, occasioned, as was then said and reasonably believed, by an agreement betwixt the Lord Oxford and the duke of Marlborough, that the process should be let fall, on condition his grace would next summer go out of the kingdom, and give no further countenance to the whig party; which he accordingly performed, to the no small displeasure of the whigs, who thereupon exclaimed terribly against him." Lockhart's *Papers* vol. I. p. 376. Respecting the

1712. kirk; but that was so ill supplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was visible they were not in a condition to keep the place any longer than the French were willing to let them stay in it¹. And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worship God, nor to bury their dead in, though by a mortality that raged there, some thousands died. Our ministers continued still to press the States and the emperor to come into the queen's measures: the emperor, on some occasions, talked in a very positive strain, as if he was resolved to put all to hazard, rather than submit to such hard conditions; but the apprehensions of a war in the neighbourhood of Hungary, and the low state of

We possess Dunkirk in a very precarious manner.

duke of Marlborough, this additional note occurs at the end of the Onslow copy of Burnet, written by the earl of Hardwicke: "The speaker (Mr. Onslow) has told me, that he had been informed by the late lord Orford (sir Robert Walpole) and Arthur Moore, that lord Bolingbroke had formed a scheme of administration, upon the turning out the earl of Oxford, by which himself was to have been lord treasurer, sir William Wyndham one of the secretaries of state, and Arthur Moore chancellor of the exchequer; and it is now generally believed, that the duke of Marlborough was to have been restored to the command of the army. See note, p. 622." Compare the speaker's note below at p. 629, folio edit. Mr. Coxe gives another list of the projected administra-

tion, without naming the duke of Marlborough. See chap. 112. p. 579. But of Lord Bolingbroke's reconciliation with the duke of Marlborough, Lockhart speaks with confidence at page 460 of his above cited Commentaries.)

¹ (The author of the Life and Reign of the Queen says, that there were not less than seven or eight thousand men in garrison there; and that, as the town was open to us by sea, we might have poured in what supplies we pleased into the town, from time to time, if it had been invested. He adds, that this place had long infested the British trade, and been a thorn in our sides during the war, p. 751. Its demolition had been made one of the conditions of peace, in an address of the parliament to the queen.)

his treasure, forced him to come down from that height, and engage the States to procure better terms for him: the demand of Strazbourg was rejected by the French with so positive an air, that our court did not move in it more; nor did it appear, that we obtained any one condition of the French but what was offered in their own project. 1712.

In conclusion, the States were forced to yield in every particular; and then our ministers, to give some seeming content to the nation, and to bring the States into some confidence with them, ordered the new barrier treaty to be signed: and it was given out by their creatures, that the French were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general peace, and a sort of guarantee for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the first barrier treaty, the ministers came into a new one, which, though not so secure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections that were made against that. The French, as we were assured, in the progress of the treaty, used all that course of chicane for which they have been so long famous; and after all the steps our court had made to get them a treaty of their own projecting, we were not at last able to gain any one point upon them: they seemed to reckon, that now we had put ourselves in their hands, and that they might use us as they pleased. ^{The barrier treaty signed.} 616

A proclamation was set out in the end of November, giving notice that the session of parliament would be opened on the thirteenth of January; but though the proroguing the parliament after such a ^{Seven prorogations of parliament.} 1713.

1713. proclamation was without a precedent ^m, yet we were put off by seven prorogations, some for a fortnight, and some for three weeks: it was said, we were daily expecting a sudden conclusion of the treaty; and till all was finished, the ministers could not know what aids were to be demanded. What occasioned all these delays is yet a secret to me; so I can write nothing of it ⁿ. Many expresses were sent to Vienna, and the returns to those could not come quick. The demands for restoring the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, together with a compensation for their losses, were insisted on. The emperor could not do the former of these without the diet, by whose authority they were put under the imperial ban: but neither the emperor nor diet could answer the other demand, it rose so high.

Affairs of
Sweden.

While we were at home, uneasy at the many prorogations and delays, the news from beyond sea

^m But this has been a precedent, and not without former authorities for it. The chief objection to it in this case, was from the number of the prorogations and the length of time: but some occasions may justify it, if the reason be evident, and for the public service, otherwise very censurable on many accounts; particularly as to previous influence, and management by courts of (f. courting) members when in town, which could not have been done when dispersed in the country. It is not prudent to use tricks with parliaments. O.

ⁿ And so was the whole transaction, notwithstanding he has published a great number

of untruths in relation to it, with many base insinuations, to please a party that never trusted him with any thing they did not design all the world should know. The duke of Marlborough told me, people were extremely mistaken that took him for a cunning man; being the least so of any of his countrymen, who were generally very expert at bringing about what they aimed at. But he had never prevailed to be advanced from Salisbury, nor, he believed, ever would; though he was sure no man desired preferment more: but he had talked himself out of every body's good opinion. D.

opened a new scene. The Swedes broke into Holstein, but were so closely followed by the Danes and Muscovites, that their retreat by land was cut off, and the Danish ships shut them from the Baltic sea: they made great waste in the king of Denmark's share of Holstein; and burned Altena, a great and rich village, within a mile of Hambourg, which being an open place, in no sort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the laws of war. 1713.

The king of Prussia died in February: he was in his own person a virtuous man, and full of zeal in the matters of religion; he raised above two hundred new churches in his dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his ministers and flatterers; but was so apt to hearken to whispers, that he changed twice the whole set of his ministry: his assuming the title of a king, and his affecting an extraordinary magnificence in his court, brought a great charge on himself, and on all about him, which made him a severe master to his subjects, and set him on many pretensions, chiefly those relating to the prince of Frizeland, which were not thought well grounded. He was succeeded in his dignity by his son, who had hitherto appeared to affect a roughness of behaviour, and seemed fond of his grenadiers, not only beyond all other military men, but beyond all men whatsoever: he seemed to have a warlike inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the throne, must be left to time.^o The king of Prussia's death. 617

^o I heard the late queen, (Caroline,) who was of his family, and knew him well, say, that sometimes he had the appearance of a great prince, soft and polite in his carriage to all about him, and of a sudden would, without any provoca-

1713. The appearances of a new war between the Turk

The king of
Sweden's
misfor-
tunes.

and the czar varied so oft, that it was doubtful in what it might end: the king of Sweden used all possible means to engage the Turk into it; but he threw himself, by his intractable obstinacy, into great dangers: the party at the Porte that opposed the war, studied to get rid of that king, and of his importunities. Orders were sent him to march back into his kingdom; and they undertook to procure him a safe passage to it: but he treated the person that was sent with this message with great insolence, and fortified himself, as well as he could, with the Swedes that were about him, and resolved to defend himself. A force much superior to his was brought against him; but he maintained himself so resolutely in his house, that some hundreds of those who attacked him were killed: the Turks, upon that, set fire to the house, whereupon he was forced to surrender, and was put under a guard; and most of his Swedes were sold for slaves: he was carried to a house near Adrianople, but not suffered to come to court; only the sultan disowned the violence used to his person. In the mean while, the czar shipped an army from Petersburgh, that landed in Finland: the Swedes were not able to stand before him; every place, as he advanced, submitted to him; and he was now master of Abo, the capital of Finland, and

tion, fall into such meanness of language and behaviour, with such starts of brutal cruelty, that he was then the contempt, as well as the terror, of every body near him; and that this happened almost daily. I heard another person say, (who knew him too,) that

in the morning he was a king, and in the afternoon a boor. O. (He was father of the great king of Prussia, who has given some curious accounts of him in his Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.)

of that whole province. Steinbock, with his army, maintained himself in Tonningen as long as their provision lasted ; but, all supplies being carefully stopped, he was forced at last to deliver up himself and his army prisoners of war ; and these were the best troops the Swedes had, so that Sweden was struck with a general consternation: in this distracted state has that furious prince abandoned his own kingdom. And there I must leave it, to return to our own affairs. 1713.

After a long expectation, we at last knew, that on the thirteenth of March ^P, the treaty of peace between England, France, and the States was signed: upon this, the parliament was opened on the ninth of April. The queen, in her speech, told the two houses, that she had now concluded a peace, and had obtained a further security for the protestant succession, and that she was in an entire union with the house of Hanover: she asked of the commons ^{The treaties signed, and the session of parliament opened.} 618 the necessary supplies, and recommended to both houses the cultivating the arts of peace, with a reflection upon faction. Upon this speech, a debate arose in the house of lords, concerning some words that were moved to be put in the address, (which of course was to be made to the queen,) applauding the conditions of the peace, and the security for the protestant succession: this was opposed, since we did not yet know what the conditions of the peace were, nor what that security was ; all that appeared was, that the pretender was gone out of France into the Barrois, a part of Lorrain, for which that duke

^P (The peace was signed on the thirteenth of March, O. S. according to the author of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne, p. 758, correcting Burnet.)

1713. did homage to the crown of France. An address of congratulation was agreed to, but without any approbation of the peace. The house of commons observed the same caution in their address. But upon this, a new set of addresses ran through the nation, in the usual strains of flattery and false eloquence. The parliament sat above a month, before the articles of peace (and of a treaty of commerce, made at that same time) were laid before them. It was given out, that, till the ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publish them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both houses, and printed.

The substance of the treaties of peace and commerce.

By the treaty of peace, the French king was bound to give neither harbour nor assistance to the pretender, but acknowledge the queen's title, and the protestant succession, as it was settled by several acts of parliament: Dunkirk was to be razed in a time limited, within five months after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun, till an equivalent for it was put in the hands of France. Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's, were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was left to the French, with a liberty to dry their fish on Newfoundland: this was the main substance of the articles of peace. The treaty of commerce settled a free trade, according to the tariff in the year 1664, excepting some commodities that were subjected to a new tariff in the year 1699, which was so high, that it amounted to a prohibition: all the productions of France were to come into England under no other duties but those that were laid on the same productions from other countries; and when this was settled, then commissaries were to be

sent to London, to agree and adjust all matters relating to trade: the treaty of commerce with Spain was not yet finished. As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands: Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king: and Sardinia, with the same title, was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses: the States were to deliver up Lisle, and the little places about it: and, besides the places of which they were already possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport: the king of Prussia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange and the other estates which the family had in Franche Comté: this was all that I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty: the emperor was to have time to the first of June, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what equivalent the king of France was to have for Dunkirk: no mention was made of it in the treaty; so the house of commons made an address to the queen, desiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks passed before they had an answer; at last the queen by a message said, the French king had that equivalent already in his own hands; but we were still in the dark as to that, no further explanation being made of it. As to Newfoundland, it was thought that the French settling at Cape Breton, instead of Placentia, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the fishery, which is the only thing that makes settlements in those parts of any value. The English have always pretended that, the first discovery of Newfoundland

1713.

1713. being made in Henry the seventh's time, the right to it was in the crown of England. The French had leave given them in king Charles the first's time to fish there, paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that license: it is true, they carried this much further during the civil wars; and this grew to a much greater height in the reign of king Charles the second: but in king William's time, an act of parliament passed, asserting the right of the crown to Newfoundland, laying open the trade thither to all the subjects of Great Britain, with a positive and constant exclusion of all aliens and foreigners: these were the reflections on the treaty of peace; but there were more important objections made to the treaty of commerce. During king Charles the second's reign, our trade with France was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the nation; there was a commission appointed in the year 1674, to adjust the conditions of our commerce with that nation, and then it appeared, in a scheme that was prepared by very able merchants, that we lost every year a million of money by our trade thither. This was then so well received, that the scheme was entered into the journals of both houses of parliament, and into the books of the custom-house; but the court at that time favoured the interests of France so much, preferably to their own, that the trade went still on till the year 1678, when the parliament laid upon all French commodities such a duty as amounted to a prohibition, and was to last for three years, and to the
 620 end of the next session of parliament: at the end of the three years, king Charles called no more parliaments; and that act was repealed in king James's

parliament: but during the whole last war, high 1713.
duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of France; which by this treaty were to be no higher charged than the same productions from other countries. It was said that, if we had been as often beat by the French as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and if the articles of our commerce had been settled before the duke of Ormond was ordered to separate his troops from the confederates, the French could not have pretended to draw us into such terms as they had insisted on since that time, because we put ourselves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal, that their wines should be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then, considering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be much cheaper; and the nation generally liking them better, by this means we should not only break our treaties with Portugal, but if we did not take off their wines, we must lose their trade, which was at present the most advantageous that we drove any where: for besides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly great returns of gold from thence; four, five, and six hundred thousand pounds a year. We had brought the silk manufacture here to so great perfection, that about 300,000 people were maintained by it^q. For carrying this

^q (Here must have been a mistake in the figures, and the number thirty thousand was probably set down by the author; notwithstanding the censure of the writer of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne, p. 758.)

1713. on, we brought great quantities of silk from Italy and Turkey, by which, people in those countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: so that our demand for silk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad, which must fail, if our manufacture of silk at home should be lost: which, if once we gave a free vent for silk stuffs from France among us, must soon be the case; since the cheapness of provisions and of labour in France would enable the French to undersell us, even at our own markets. Our linen and paper manufactures would likewise be ruined by a free importation of the same goods from France. These things came to be so generally well understood, that, even while flattering addresses were coming to court from all the parts of the island, petitions came from the towns and counties concerned in trade, setting forth the prejudice they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The ministers used all possible arts to bear this clamour down; they called it faction, and decried it with a boldness that would
 621 have surprised any but those who had observed the methods they had taken for many years, to vent the foulest calumnies and the falsest misrepresentations possible. But the matter came to be so universally apprehended, that it could not be disguised.

Aid given
by the commons.

The house of commons gave an aid of two shillings in the pound, though the ministers hoped to have carried it higher; but the members durst not venture on that, since a new election was soon to follow the conclusion of the session: they went next to renew the duty on malt for another year; and here a debate arose, that was kept up some days in both houses of parliament, whether it should be

laid on the whole island: it was carried in the affirmative, of which the Scots complained heavily, as a burden that their country could not bear: and whereas it was said, that those duties ought to be laid equally on all the subjects of the united kingdom, the Scots insisted on an article of the union, by which it was stipulated, that no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which ought to be observed religiously. They said, it was evident the war with Spain was not yet ended: no peace with that crown was yet proclaimed, nor so much as signed: and though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the construction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be strictly understood, whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther said on the Scotch side, that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war: so this act was, upon the matter, making Scotland pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of the union did by express words exempt them. A great number of the English were convinced of the equity of these grounds that the Scots went on; but the majority was on the other side^r. So when the bill had passed through the house of commons, all the Scots of both houses met together, and agreed to move for an act dissolving the union; they went first to the queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this duty would be to their country,

1713.
The Scots
oppose their
being
charged
with the
duty on
malt.

And moved
to have the
union dis-
solved.

^r (Lord Bolingbroke, in his Letters, acknowledges that lessening the proportion of the malt duty ought certainly to have been granted to the Scots.

But the ministerial troops were not well managed at this time. See vol. II. page 139, of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters and Correspondence.)

1713. so that they were under a necessity to try how the union might be broken. The queen seemed uneasy at the motion; she studied to divert them from it, and assured them that her officers should have orders to make it easy to them. This was understood to imply that the duty should not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: so the motion was made in the house of lords, and most of the lords of that nation spoke to it: they set forth all the hardships that they lay under since the union; they had no more a council in Scotland; their peers at present were the only persons in the whole island 622 that were judged incapable of peerage by descent^s; their laws were altered in matters of the highest importance, particularly in matters of treason; and now an imposition was to be laid on their malt, which must prove an intolerable burden to the poor of that country, and force them to drink water. Upon all these reasons they moved for liberty to bring in a bill to dissolve the union, in which they would give full security for maintaining the queen's prerogative, and for securing the protestant succession. This was opposed with much zeal by the ministers, but was supported by others^t; who,

^s He means seats in parliament. O.

^t The whig lords. How much to their honour, I will not say. I believe they meant only the distressing of the ministry; but surely there was too much of party violence to make so tender a point an instrument of opposition. I had it from good authority, (the late sir Robert Monroe, then of the house of commons,) that at a

meeting upon it at my lord Somers's house, where Monroe was, nobody pressed this motion more than that lord. Good God! O. (In a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, lord Bolingbroke writes thus at this time. "It almost slipped me "to tell your grace, that the "first step which the Scotch "made, was, to depute the "duke of Argyle, the earl of "Mar, Lockhart, and Cock-

though they did not intend to give up the union, yet thought it reasonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they might see how far the protestant succession could be secured, in case it should be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion: when the malt bill was brought up to the lords, there was such an opposition made to it, that fifty-six voted against it, but sixty-four were for it, and so it passed. 1713.

The matter of the greatest consequence in this session was a bill for settling the commerce with France, according to the treaty, and for taking off the prohibitions and high duties, that were laid on the productions of France. The traders in the city of London, and those in all the other parts of England, were alarmed with the great prejudice this would bring on the whole nation. The Turkey company, those that traded to Portugal and Italy, and all who were concerned in the woollen and silk manufactures, appeared before both houses, and set forth the great mischief that a commerce with France, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the nation; while none appeared on the other side to answer

A bill for rendering the treaty of commerce with France effectual.

“burne, to the queen, to tell her of the resolution they were come to. They had no reason to be much pleased with the queen’s reception of them, or with her answer to them. Indeed, this heat, which is blown up by two or three people, will not turn to good account; for instead of hurting the treasurer, at whom they aim, they have made the dispute national; though in the lower house, they have to a man joined “the whigs in several divisions, yet have they been baffled by great majorities. “A call of the house is ordered below stairs, and above we shall, I believe, ground on their motion, a bill, to make it high treason, by any overt act, to attempt the dissolution of the union.” *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. IV. p. 140. But this suggestion was never acted upon. Perhaps the acting upon it now, in the case of Ireland, would be useful.)

1713. their arguments, or to set forth the advantage of such a commerce. It was manifest, that none of the trading bodies had been consulted in it; and the commissioners for trade and plantations had made very material observations on the first project, which was sent to them for their opinion: and afterwards, when this present project was formed, it was also transmitted to that board by the queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: but Arthur Moor, who had risen up from being a footman^u, without any education^x, to be a great dealer in

^u There was no more objection to Arthur Moor's having raised himself from a footman, than there was for a Scotch presbyterian minister's having done so to the bishopric of Salisbury. But that Arthur Moor ever was in lord Oxford's confidence, is utterly untrue: and that he always objected to lord Bolingbroke's having too much in him, is true. D. (Neither is it true that Burnet had been a Scotch presbyterian minister.)

^x But of very extraordinary parts, with great experience and knowledge of the world, very able in parliament, and capable of the highest parts of business, with a manner in it, and indeed in his general deportment, equal almost to any rank. He had materials of discourse for all sorts of company, to whom he knew how to accommodate himself, and never offended by forwardness, or pride, or any impropriety. If he was with scholars, or men of any profession he was not skilled in, he supplied the want of that by giving them entertaining sto-

ries, and characters of men of their own sort, which pleased them more than if he could have talked to them in their own knowledge. He knew everybody, and could talk of every body, which, with his acquaintance and readiness in all the current business of the times he had lived in, made his conversation a sort of history of the age, especially in the latter part of his life, when his former partialities and bias were no longer of use to him. He had great notions, and was generous and magnificent, and wrote and spoke with the accuracy and politeness of the best education. His aspect and outward figure were disadvantageous enough to him, but he wanted nothing else to make him appear a man of the first fashion. He had a confidence with the ministers in their most secret measures; first with the treasurer, then with the lord Bolingbroke, and always with the chancellor, (Harcourt,) and mediated between them in their quarrels; but when he found them irrecon-

trade, and was the person of that board, in whom the lord treasurer confided most, moved that they might first read it every one apart, and then debate it; and he desired to have the first perusal: so he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the lord Bolingbroke, who carried it to Paris, and there it was settled. The bill was very feebly maintained by those who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill till the last day; and then the opposition to it was so strong, that the ministers seemed inclined to let it fall: but it was not then

1713.

cilable, took his part with the lord Bolingbroke, who, if the queen had lived long enough to have enabled him to make a ministry, was himself to have been treasurer, sir William Wyndham, then chancellor of the exchequer, was to have been one of the secretaries of state; and Mr. Moore, chancellor of the exchequer. The queen's death defeated all this, but his intimacy with lord Harcourt and Bolingbroke was not interrupted by it, but continued in the closest manner for several years afterwards, and changed indeed as they did to the ministers in the next reign. What his benefits were by so doing, I do not know; but I know his circumstances wanted it. His acquisitions had been very great by trade, and afterwards by every method, as it has been said, that his interest, and power, and opportunities opened to him; but his profusion consumed all. And he died broken in all respects, but

in his parts and spirit, and it was thought they would not have held him long. He was so eminent an instance of extraordinary rise from mean beginnings, by the mere force of natural genius; and as I knew him many years, by his being seated in the county of Surrey, I imagined it would not be unpleasing or unuseful to you to have this account of a man, who, if he had raised himself by a course of virtue, would have been justly deemed one of the greatest among those who have wrought their own fortunes. But "*vendidit hic auro patriam*,"—to Spain at least, if not to France, in our transactions of commerce with them at the treaty of Utrecht. O. (See an unfavourable account of the conduct of Arthur Moore, who was employed by lord Bolingbroke to negotiate the commercial treaty with Spain, in Somerville's *Hist. of Queen Anne*, chap. xxiii. p. 562.)

1713. known, whether this was only a feint, or whether the instances of the French ambassador, and the engagements that our ministers were under to that court prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the last step; and then a great many of those who had hitherto gone along with the court, broke from them in this matter, and bestirred themselves so effectually, that when it came to the last division, 185 were for the bill, and 194 were against it: by so small a majority was a bill of such great importance lost. But the house of commons, to soften the ill constructions that might be made of their rejecting this bill, made an address to the queen, in which they thanked her for the peace she had concluded, and for the foundation laid for settling our commerce; and prayed her to name commissaries to regulate and finish that matter.

To this the queen sent an answer, of a singular composition: she said, she was glad to see they were so well pleased with the treaty of peace and commerce that she had made, and assured them that she would use her best endeavours to see all the advantages, that she had stipulated for her subjects, performed: this was surprising, since the house of commons had sufficiently shewed, how little they were pleased with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill that was offered to confirm it; and this was insinuated in their address itself: but it was pleasantly said, that the queen answered them, according to what ought to have been in their address, and not according to what was in it; besides it was observable, that her promise, to maintain what was already stipulated, did not at all answer the prayer

of their address. This was all that passed in this session of parliament with relation to the peace ^{1713.} It was once apprehended, that the ministers would have moved for an act, or at least for an address, approving the peace; and upon that I prepared a speech, which I intended to make on the subject: it was the only speech that I ever prepared beforehand; but since that matter was never brought into the house, I had no occasion to make it; yet I think proper to insert it here, that I may deliver down my thoughts of this great transaction to posterity.

y (Smollet, in his History of England, (Queen Anne,) chap. xi. §. 25, p. 243, gives the following account of what took place afterwards relative to the rejection of the treaty of commerce: "After a violent debate," he says, "the house of commons resolved by a great majority, that a bill should be brought in, to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring that, should the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great Britain. Indeed all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry from the intrigues of the whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates." So Smollet. Whatever mistake there may be in this last assertion, yet credit ought to be given to sir Thomas Hanmer, speaker of the house of commons, and to those of the tory party, who on the occasion mentioned by Burnet, from a principle of duty voted against the measure, not from dissatisfaction with the court. A rare instance of a large number of persons sacrificing party to principle; but repeated by the same political body of men in the reign of George II. when, from adherence to their principles, they refused to join in forcing the crown to remove sir Robert Walpole from office, as no charge had been regularly proved against him.)

1713.

A speech
I prepared
when the
approbation
of the
peace
should be
moved in
the house
of lords.

“ MY LORDS, this matter now before you, as it is
 “ of the greatest importance, so it may be seen in
 “ very different lights; I will not meddle with the
 “ political view of it; I leave that to persons, who
 “ can judge and speak of it much better than I can :
 “ I will only offer to you what appears to me, when
 “ I consider it with relation to the rules of morality
 624 “ and religion; in this I am sure I act within my pro-
 “ per sphere. Some things stick so with me, that I
 “ could have no quiet in my conscience, nor think I
 “ had answered the duty of my function, if I did not
 “ make use of the freedom of speech, that our con-
 “ stitution and the privileges of this house allow me:
 “ I am the more encouraged to do this, because the
 “ bringing those of our order into public councils, in
 “ which we have now such a share, was originally
 “ intended for this very end, that we should offer
 “ such considerations, as arise from the rules of our
 “ holy religion, in all matters that may come before
 “ us. In the opening my sense of things, I may be
 “ forced to use some words that may perhaps appear
 “ severe: I cannot help it, if the nature of these
 “ affairs is such, that I cannot speak plainly of them
 “ in a softer strain: I intend not to reflect on any
 “ person: and I am sure I have such a profound
 “ respect for the queen, that no part of what I may
 “ say can be understood to reflect on her in any sort :
 “ her intentions are, no doubt, as she declares them
 “ to be, all for the good and happiness of her peo-
 “ ple; but it is not to be supposed, that she can read
 “ long treaties, or carry the articles of them in her
 “ memory: so if things have been either concealed
 “ from her, or misrepresented to her, *she can do no*

“ *wrong*; and if any such thing has been done, we 1713.
“ know on whom our constitution lays the blame.

“ The treaties that were made some years ago
“ with our allies, are in print; both the grand alli-
“ ance, and some subsequent ones: we see many
“ things in these, that are not provided for by this
“ peace; it was in particular stipulated, that no
“ peace should be treated, much less concluded, with-
“ out the consent of the allies. But, before I make
“ any observations on this, I must desire you will
“ consider how sacred a thing the public faith, that
“ is engaged in treaties and alliances, should be
“ esteemed.

“ I hope I need not tell you, that even heathen
“ nations valued themselves upon their fidelity, in a
“ punctual observing of all their treaties, and with
“ how much infamy they branded the violation of
“ them: if we consider that which revealed religion
“ teaches us to know, that man was made after the
“ image of God, the God of all truth, as we know
“ who is the father of lies; *God hates the deceitful*
“ *man, in whose mouth there is no faithfulness.* In
“ that less perfect religion of the Jews, when the
“ Gibeonites had by a fraudulent proceeding drawn
“ Joshua and the Israelites into a league with them,
“ it was sacredly observed; and the violation of it,
“ some ages after, was severely punished. And 625
“ when the last of the kings of Judah shook off the
“ fidelity, to which he had bound himself to the king
“ of Babylon, the prophet thereupon said with in-
“ dignation, *Shall he break the oath of God, and*
“ *prosper?* The swearing deceitfully is one of the
“ worst characters; and *he who swears to his own*
“ *hurt, and changes not,* is among the best. It is a

1713. “ maxim of the wisest of kings, that *the throne is*
 “ *established by righteousness*. Treaties are of the
 “ nature of oaths; and when an oath is asked to
 “ confirm a treaty, it is never denied. The best ac-
 “ count that I can give of the disuse of adding that
 “ sacred seal to treaties is this :

“ The popes had for some ages possessed them-
 “ selves of a power, to which they had often re-
 “ course, of dissolving the faith of treaties, and the
 “ obligation of oaths : the famous, but fatal story of
 “ Ladislaus, king of Hungary, breaking his faith to
 “ Amurath the Turk, by virtue of a papal dispensa-
 “ tion, is well known. One of the last public acts
 “ of this sort was, when pope Clement the seventh
 “ absolved Francis the first, from the treaty made
 “ and sworn to at Madrid, while he was a prisoner
 “ there : the severe revenge that Charles the fifth
 “ took of this, in the sack of Rome, and in keeping
 “ that pope for some months a prisoner, has made
 “ popes more cautious since that time than they
 “ were formerly: this also drew such heavy but just
 “ reproaches on the papacy from the reformers, that
 “ some stop seems now to be put to such a bare-
 “ faced protection of perjury. But the late king
 “ told me, that he understood from the German pro-
 “ testant princes, that they believed the confessors of
 “ popish princes had faculties from Rome for doing
 “ this, as effectually, though more secretly: he add-
 “ ed, that they knew it went for a maxim among
 “ popish princes, that their word and faith bound
 “ them as they were men and members of society;
 “ but that their oaths, being acts of religion, were
 “ subject to the direction of their confessors; and
 “ that they, apprehending this, did, in all their trea-

“ ties with the princes of that religion, depend upon 1713.
 “ their honour, but never asked the confirmation of
 “ an oath, which had been the practice of former
 “ ages. The protestants of France thought they
 “ had gained an additional security, for observing
 “ the edict of Nantes, when the swearing to observe
 “ it was made a part of the coronation oath: but
 “ it is probable this very thing undermined and
 “ ruined it.

“ Grotius, Puffendorf, and others who have wrote
 “ of the law of nations, lay this down for a rule, that
 “ the nature of a treaty, and the tie that arises out
 “ of it, is not altered by the having or not having an
 “ oath: the oath serves only to heighten the obliga- 626
 “ tion. They do also agree in this, that confederacies *Pernicies,*
 “ do not bind states to carry on a war to their *summus*
conatus.
 “ ruin; but that princes and states are bound to use
 “ their *utmost efforts* in maintaining them: and it is
 “ agreed by all who have treated of these matters,
 “ that the common enemy, by offering to any one
 “ confederate all his pretensions, cannot justify *his*
 “ departing from the confederacy; because it was
 “ entered into with that view, that all the preten-
 “ sions, upon which the confederacy was made,
 “ should be insisted on or departed from by com-
 “ mon consent.

“ It is true, that in confederacies where allies are
 “ bound to the performance of several articles, as
 “ to their quotas or shares, if any one fails in the
 “ part he was bound to, the other confederates have
 “ a right to demand a reparation for his nonper-
 “ formance: but even in that case, allies are to act
 “ as friends, by making allowances for what could
 “ not be helped, and not as enemies, by taking ad-

1713. “vantages, on design to disengage them from their
 “allies. It is certain, allies forfeit their right to
 “the alliance, if they do not perform their part:
 “but the failure must be evident, and an expostu-
 “lation must be first made: and if, upon satisfac-
 “tion demanded, it is not given, then a protestation
 “should be made of such nonperformance; and
 “the rest of the confederates are at liberty, as to
 “him who fails on his part: these are reckoned
 “among the customs and laws of nations: and since
 “nothing of this kind has been done, I cannot see
 “how it can be made out, that the tie of the confe-
 “deracy, and by consequence, that the public faith
 “has not been first broken on our side.

“My lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying on a
 “treaty with the French, without the knowledge
 “and concurrence of the other confederate states
 “and princes, and the concluding it without the
 “consent of the emperor, the principal confederate,
 “not to mention the visible uneasiness that has ap-
 “peared in the others, who seem to have been
 “forced to consent, by declarations, if not by threat-
 “enings, from hence; I say, I cannot reconcile this
 “with the articles of the grand alliance, and the
 “other later treaties that are in print: this seems
 “to come within the charge of the prophet against
 “those *who deal treacherously with those who had*
 “*not dealt treacherously with them*; upon which,
 “the threatening that follows may be justly appre-
 “hended: it will have a strange sound among all
 “Christians, but more particularly among the re-
 “formed, when it is reported, that the plenipoten-
 “tiary of the head of the reformed princes said
 “openly to the other plenipotentiaries, that the

“ queen held herself free from all her treaties and 1713.
“ alliances: if this be set for a precedent, here is 627
“ a short way of dispensing with the public faith;
“ and if this was spoken by one of our prelates, I
“ am afraid it will leave a heavy reproach on our
“ church; and, to speak freely, I am afraid it will
“ draw a much heavier curse after it. My lords,
“ there is a God in heaven, who will judge all the
“ world, without respect of persons: nothing can
“ prosper without his blessing: he can blast all the
“ counsels of men, when laid in fraud and deceit,
“ how cunningly soever they may be either con-
“ trived or disguised: and I must think, that a peace
“ made in opposition to the express words of so
“ many treaties, will prove a curse instead of a
“ blessing to us: God is provoked by such proceed-
“ ings, to pour heavy judgments on us, for the vio-
“ lation of a faith so often given, which is so openly
“ broken: by this our nation is dishonoured, and
“ our church disgraced: and I dread to think, what
“ the consequence of those things is like to prove.
“ I would not have expressed myself in such a
“ manner, if I had not thought that I was bound to
“ it by the duty that I owe to Almighty God, by
“ my zeal for the queen and the church, and by my
“ love to my country. Upon so great an occasion,
“ I think my post in the church and in this house
“ lays me under the strictest obligations to discharge
“ my conscience, and to speak plainly without fear
“ or flattery, let the effect of it, as to myself, be
“ what it will: I shall have the more quiet in my
“ own mind, both living and dying, for having done
“ that which seemed to me an indispensable duty.

“ I hope this house will not bring upon themselves

1713. "and the nation the blame and guilt of approving
 " that which seems to be much more justly cen-
 " surable: the reproach that may belong to this
 " treaty, and the judgments of God that may follow
 " on it, are now what a few only are concerned in.
 " A national approbation is a thing of another na-
 " ture: the public breach of faith, in the attack
 " that was made on the Smyrna fleet forty years
 " ago, brought a great load of infamy on those
 " who advised and directed it; but they were more
 " modest than to ask a public approbation of so
 " opprobrious a fact: it lay on a few; and the na-
 " tion was not drawn into a share in the guilt of
 " that which was then universally detested, though
 " it was passed over in silence: it seems enough, if
 " not too much, to be silent on such an occasion. I
 " can carry my compliances no further z."

z It would have been great pity, that this fulminating speech should have been totally suppressed, shewing so much of the true spirit of a clergyman, in damning every body that differed with him in opinion. But it seems his function, or party, for I cannot impute it to his ignorance, would not allow him to set the treaties in a true light. There was no obligation in any, but that with the king of Portugal, (who was very far from insisting upon it, after the archduke became emperor,) to procure Spain and the West Indies to the house of Austria. The grand alliance being only for obtaining reasonable satisfaction to the emperor, for his pretensions to the Spanish mon-

archy; king William, nor the Dutch, ever had a thought to dispossess king Philip of the whole; which they knew to be impracticable. Had the queen stayed, after the rest of the allies were fully satisfied, for the emperor's consent to a peace, who was to reap all the advantages of a war carried on at other people's expense, she might soon have irreparably ruined her own country, which she thought it her duty to prevent; there being no possibility of ever succeeding in a chimerical notion, thrown in by a faction to distress her government, and serve their own ends, though at the hazard of their country. But I as little doubt, that that great and good queen is now enjoy-

I now go on with the account of what was farther 1713.
 done in this session: the house of commons was, as 628
 to all other things except the matter of commerce, A demand
of money
for the civil
list debts.
 so entirely in the hands of the ministers, that they
 ventured on a new demand, of a very extraordinary
 nature, which was made in as extraordinary
 a manner. The civil list, which was estimated at
 600,000*l.* a year, and was given for the ordinary
 support of the government, did far exceed it: and
 this was so evident, that, during the three first years
 of the queen's reign, 100,000*l.* was every year ap-
 plied to the war; 200,000*l.* was laid out in building
 of Blenheim house, and the entertaining the Pala-
 tines had cost the queen 100,000*l.* So that here
 was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was
 necessary towards the support of the government.
 Yet these extraordinary expenses had put the ordi-
 nary payments into such an arrear, that at Midsum-
 mer 1710, the queen owed 510,000*l.* But upon a
 new account, this was brought to be 80,000*l.* less;
 and at that time, there was an arrear of 190,000*l.*
 due to the civil list; these two sums together
 amounting to 270,000*l.* the debt that remained was
 but 240,000*l.* Yet now, in the end of the session,
 when, upon the rejecting the bill of commerce, most
 of the members were gone into the country, so that
 there were not 180 of them left, a message was sent
 to the house of commons, desiring a power to mort-
 gage a branch of the civil list, for thirty-two years,
 in order to raise upon it 500,000*l.*

This was thought a demand of very bad conse-

ing those blessings she so well sures are fallen upon the head
 deserved from all her subjects, of him that made them. D.
 as that these ecclesiastical cen-

1713. quence, since the granting it to one prince would be
 Reasons against it. a precedent to grant the like to all future princes ^a; and, as the account of the debt was deceitfully stated, so it was known, that the funds set off for the civil list would increase considerably in times of peace: so an opposition was made to it, with a great superiority in point of argument, but there was a great majority for it: and all people concluded, that the true end of getting so much money into the hands of the court, was to furnish their creatures sufficiently for carrying their elections.

But it was granted.

The lords were sensible, that the method of procuring this supply was contrary to their privileges, since all public supplies were either asked from the throne, or by a message which was sent to both houses at the same time: this practice was inquired into by the lords; no precedents came up to it ^b; but some came so near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the ministers apprehending that an opposition would be made to the
 629 bill, if it came up alone, got it consolidated with another of 1,200,000*l.* that was before them. And the weight of these two joined together, made them both pass in the house of lords without opposition.

Address of both houses to get the

While this was in agitation, the earl of Wharton set forth in the house of lords, the danger the na-

^a And so it has proved. O.

^b The precedents are many, and particularly in king Charles II's time; but the practice has been disused of late years, occasioned by a violent speech against it, made by Lechmere, (then a peer,) in the late reign, and which did so much inflame many of the lords, that minis-

ters almost ever since that time have sent these messages to both houses, but with a distinction in the wording of them: to make the *grant* of the money to be only in the commons, as is done in speeches from the throne. And thus qualified, the commons have made no objection to it. O.

tion was in, by the pretender's being settled in Lorrain; so he moved, that an address should be made to the queen, desiring her to use her most pressing instances with the duke of Lorrain to remove him; and with all princes that were in amity or correspondence with her, not to receive the pretender, nor to suffer him to continue in their dominions: this was opposed by none but the lord North; so it was carried to the queen. The day after the lords had voted this, Stanhope made a motion to the same purpose in the house of commons, and it was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*. The queen, in her answer to the address of the lords, said, she would repeat the instances she had already used to get that person removed, according to their desire in the address: this seemed to import, that she had already pressed the duke of Lorrain on that subject; though the ministers in the house of lords acknowledged, that they knew of no applications made to the duke of Lorrain, and thought the words of the answer related only to the instances she had used to get the pretender to be sent out of France. But the natural signification of the words seeming to relate to the duke of Lorrain, the lords made a second address; in which they said, they were surprised to find that those instances had not their full effect, notwithstanding the kings of France and Spain had shewed their compliance with her desire on that occasion: all the answer brought to this was, that the queen received it graciously. She answered the commons more plainly, and promised to use her endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed, that the duke of Lorrain did not consent to receive him, till he sent one over to know the queen's pleasure

1713.
pretender
removed
from Lorrain.

1713. upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that ^c.

The death
of some
bishops.

In the end of May, Spratt, bishop of Rochester, died: his parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but these were blasted by a lazy, libertine course of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without considering the duties, or even the decencies of his profession ^d. He was justly esteemed a great master of our language, and one of our correctest writers. Atterbury succeeded him in that see, and in the deanery of Westminster: thus was he promoted and rewarded for all the flame that he had raised in our church ^e.

^c (Mesnager, in his Minutes, p. 286, gives an account, that he settled with lady Masham, that the pretender should retire out of France into Lorrain.)

^d (See note before, at page 483, vol. I. folio edit.)

^e Atterbury was just such another busy, hotheaded, confident churchman as Burnet, but had much a superior understanding. He was litigious and vexatious to so high a degree, that he was removed from the deaneries of Carlisle and Christchurch, as the only means to restore them to any tolerable state of peace and quiet. I never knew the queen do any thing with so much reluctance, as the signing of his *congé d'élire*. She told me, she knew he would be as meddling and troublesome as the bishop of Salisbury, had more ambition, and was less tractable. I told her, I thought she had a right notion of the man, therefore

wondered she would do it. She said, lord Harcourt had answered for his behaviour, and she had lately disoblighed him, by refusing the like request for Dr. Sacheverel, and found if she did not grant this, she must break with him quite; which, she believed, I would not think advisable. I told her, I really thought any thing was more so, than letting such boutefeus into the church and house of lords. D. (Atterbury, in return for these remarks, would, if he had thought it worth while, have treated his lordship as roughly as he did in those bitter lines lord Cadogan, for proposing to have him thrown to the lions in the tower. But lord Dartmouth's note confirms a similar account of the queen's reluctance to make Atterbury a bishop, given by Dr. Warton in his Essay on Pope, where he observes, that "it was with difficulty queen Anne was prevailed on to

Compton, bishop of London, died in the beginning of July, in the eighty-first year of his age: he was a generous and good-natured man, but easy and weak, and much in the power of others: he was succeeded by Robinson, bishop of Bristol. On the eighteenth of July the queen came to the house of lords, to pass the bills, and to put an end to the session: she made a speech to her parliament; in which, after she had thanked them for the service they had done the public, and for the supplies that the commons had given, she said, she hoped the affair of commerce would be so well understood at their next meeting, that the advantageous conditions she had obtained from France would be made effectual for the benefit of our trade. She enlarged on the praises of the present parliament: she said, at their first meeting they had eased the subjects of more than nine millions, without any further charge on them, not to mention the advantage which the way of doing it might bring to the nation; and now they had enabled her likewise to pay her debts: they had supported the war, and strengthened her hands in obtaining a peace. She told them, at her first coming to the crown she found a war prepared for her; and that she had now made her many victories useful, by a safe and honourable peace. She promised herself, that with their concurrence it would be lasting: she desired they would make her subjects sensible what they gained by the peace, and endeavour to dissipate

1713.

“ make Atterbury a bishop, “ truly, she had before disap-
 “ which she did at last on “ pointed him, in not placing
 “ the repeated importunities of “ Sacheverell on the bench.”
 “ lord Harcourt, who pressed Vol. II. p. 358.)
 “ the queen to do it, because,

1713. all the groundless jealousies which had been too industriously fomented; that so our divisions might not endanger the advantages she had obtained for her kingdoms: there were some (very few she hoped) that would never be satisfied with any government; she hoped they would exert themselves to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded: she recommended to them the adhering to the constitution in church and state; such persons had the best title to her favour; she had no other aim but their advantage, and the securing our religion and liberty: she hoped to meet a parliament next winter, that should act upon the same principles, and with the same prudence and vigour, to support the liberties of Europe abroad, and to reduce the spirit of faction at home. Few speeches from the throne have in my time been more severely reflected on than this was: it seemed strange, that the queen, who did not pretend to understand matters of trade, should pass such a censure on both
631 houses, for their not understanding the affair of commerce: since, at the bar of both houses, and in the debates within them upon it, the interest of the nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put on them, to represent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all those who had opposed it among the ill-minded, or, at least, among the deluded. Nor did it escape censure, that she should affirm, that the nation was by them eased of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, since the nation must bear the constant charge of interest at six per cent, till the capital should be paid off. The sharpness with which she expressed herself was singular,

and not very well suited to her dignity or her sex : 1713.
 nor was it well understood what could be meant by
 her saying, that she found a war prepared for her at
 her coming to the crown ; since she herself began it,
 upon the addresses of both houses ^f. It was also ob-
 served, that there was not, in all her speech, one
 word of the pretender, or of the protestant succes-
 sion ; but that which made the greatest impression
 on the whole nation was, that this speech discovered
 plainly, that the court was resolved to have the bill
 of commerce pass in the next session : all people
 concluded, the ministers were under engagements
 to the court of France to get it settled ; and this was
 taken to be the sense of the queen's words con-
 cerning the making the peace lasting : what effect
 this may have on the next elections, which are
 quickly to follow, must be left to time.

I am now come to the end of the war and of this
 parliament both at once : it was fit they should bear
 some proportion to one another ; for as this was the
 worst parliament I ever saw, so no assembly, but
 one composed as this was, could have sat quiet under
 such a peace. But I am now arrived at my full
 period, and so shall close this work : I had a noble
 prospect before me, in a course of many years, of
 bringing it to a glorious conclusion ; now the scene
 is so fatally altered, that I can scarce restrain my-
 self from giving vent to a just indignation in severe
 complaints : but an historian must tell things truly
 as they are, and leave the descanting on them to

^f (Was not the alliance be- months before the queen's ac-
 tween this country, the empe- cession?)
 ror, and Holland, ratified many

1713. others. So I here conclude this history of above
three and fifty years.

I pray God it may be read with the same candour and sincerity with which I have written it, and with
632 such a degree of attention, as may help those who read it to form just reflections, and sound principles of religion and virtue, of duty to our princes, and of love to our country, with a sincere and incorruptible zeal to preserve our religion, and to maintain our liberty and property &.

& Thus piously ends the most partial, malicious heap of scandal and misrepresentation, that was ever collected, for the laudable design of giving a false impression of persons and things to all future ages. This canting bishop having, with his accustomed modesty, represented as many of the queen's servants as he did not like (of which number I had the honour to be one) to be enemies to the princess Sophia and her family, I shall here insert the letter I wrote to her highness, upon being made secretary of state, and her answer :

“ Madam,
“ The honour lately conferred
“ on me by the queen, of being
“ one of her principal secretaries of state, engages me to
“ beg the honour of your electoral highness's commands ;
“ which, next my duty to her
“ majesty, I shall prefer before
“ all other considerations ; esteeming it incumbent on me,
“ by my station in her majesty's service, and by the many
“ undeserved honours which I
“ received when I waited on

“ your electoral highness at
“ Hanover, which I must always remember with great
“ gratitude, and satisfaction to myself. I should sooner have
“ discharged my duty upon this occasion, but stayed for Mr. Cresset's waiting upon your
“ highness by the queen's command, who would have vouched for me, that it was the ill
“ state of my health, and circumstances of my private affairs, that would not permit
“ me to have the honour of
“ waiting upon your highness at her majesty's accession to
“ the crown, of which none
“ could be more ambitious than myself ; who will always endeavour, with the utmost zeal,
“ to make it appear, that I am, with the most profound respect and submission,

“ Madam,
“ Your electoral highness's
“ most dutiful and most
“ obedient servant,
“ DARTMOUTH.”

“ A Herenhausen,
“ Monsieur, le 2^{de} de Fbre 1710.
“ Comme j'ay appris que la

“ reine vous avoit choisi, mi-
 “ lord, pour être un de ses prin-
 “ cipaux secrétaires d’état, j’en
 “ ay eu beaucoup de joie, vous
 “ ayant toujours regardé comme
 “ ami, depuis que je vous ay
 “ veu ici: cela m’a fait recevoir
 “ avec tant plus de plaisir l’ob-
 “ ligante lettre que vous m’avez
 “ écrite, et me fait souhaiter la
 “ continuation de votre bon-
 “ heur; si je pouvois jamais
 “ contribuer par quelque ser-
 “ vice, vous me trouveries tou-

“ jours, milord, votre tres af-
 “ fectionné à vous servir,

1713.

“ SOPHIE ELECTRICE.”

D. (The general Remarks of
 Swift on this History are to be
 found in the eighth volume of
 his works, ed. 1765. As they
 formed no part of his notes on
 Burnet, it was not necessary to
 add them here; and, indeed, al-
 though they contain much just
 criticism, yet the severity of it
 makes them improper for this
 place.)

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now set out the state of affairs for above half a century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of: I have inquired into all matters among us, and have observed them, during the course of my life, with a particular application and impartiality. But my intention in writing was not so much to tell a fine tale to the world, and to amuse them with a discovery of many secrets, and of intrigues of state, to blast the memory of some, and to exalt others, to disgrace one party, and to recommend another: my chief design was better formed, and deeper laid: it was to give such a discovery of errors in government, and of the excesses and follies of parties, as may make the next age wiser, by what I may tell them of the last. And I may presume, that the observations I have made, and the account that I have given, will gain me so much credit, that I may speak with a plain freedom to all sorts of persons: this not being to be published till after I am dead, when envy, jealousy, or hatred will be buried with me in my grave, I may hope, that what I am now to offer to succeeding ages, may be better heard, and less censured, than any thing I could offer to the present: so that this is a sort of testament, or dying speech, which I

leave behind me, to be read and considered when I can speak no more : I do most earnestly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it such an effect on the minds of those who read it, that I may do more good when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

634 My thoughts have run most, and dwelt longest on the concerns of the church and religion : therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true zeal for the church of England ; I have lived in its communion with great joy, and have pursued its true interests with an unfeigned affection : yet I must say, there are many things in it that have been very uneasy to me.

My zeal for
the church
of England.

The requiring subscriptions to the thirty-nine articles is a great imposition : I believe them all myself ; but as those about original sin and predestination might be expressed more unexceptionably, so I think it is a better way to let such matters continue to be still the standard of doctrine, with some few corrections, and to censure those who teach any contrary tenets, than to oblige all that serve in the church to subscribe them : the greater part subscribe without ever examining them ; and others do it because they must do it, though they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them. Churches and societies are much better secured by laws, than by subscriptions : it is a more reasonable, as well as a more easy method of government.

The doctrine,
The worship,

Our worship is the perfectest composition of devotion that we find in any church, ancient or modern : yet the corrections that were agreed to by a deputation of bishops and divines in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our liturgy still

more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at some time or other, be better entertained than they were then. I am persuaded they are such as would bring in the much greater part of the dissenters to the communion of the church, and are in themselves desirable, though there were not a dissenter in the nation.

As for the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it has been ^{And discipline.} the burden of my life to see how it was administered: our courts are managed under the rules of the canon law, dilatory and expensive: and as their constitution is bad, so the business in them is small; and therefore all possible contrivances are used, to make the most of those causes that come before them: so that they are universally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble design, so near being perfected in king Edward the sixth's days, of the *reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, may be reviewed and established^a: that so matrimonial and testamentary causes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left a little better regulated to the lay hands of chancellors and other officers; but that the whole correction of the manners of the laity, and the inspection into the lives and labours of the clergy, may be brought again into the hand of spiritual men, and be put into a better me- 635

^a (The Collection of Regulations, entitled, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which were framed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI, together with Fox the martyrologist's preface, and the letters of those two kings, was first printed in 1571, and afterwards in 1640. Concerning this

important work see Fuller's Church History, b. vi. p. 410; sir R. Twysden's Vindication of the Church of England, p. 106; our author's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. II. ad an. 1552, p. 130, &c.; and Collier's Church Hist. vol. II. p. 326—333, where the principal enactments are enumerated.)

thod. It would be well, if, after the poor clergy are relieved by the tenths and first-fruits, a fund were formed (of twenty or thirty pound a-year) for the rural deans; and that they, with at least three of the clergy of the deanery, named by the bishop, examined into the manners both of clergy and laity; and after the methods of private admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's rule, but without effect, that the matter should be laid before the bishop, who, after his admonitions were also ineffectual, might proceed to censures, to a suspension from the sacrament, and to a full excommunication, as the case should require. This would bring our church indeed into a primitive form, in which at present the clergy have less authority, and are under more contempt, than in any church that I have yet seen. For though in the church of Rome the public authority is in general managed according to the method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the council of Trent; whereas we, by that unhappy proviso in the act authorizing the thirty-two commissioners to reform our courts, are fatally tied down to all that was in use in the twenty-fifth year of king Henry the eighth. Besides, in that church the clergy have, by auricular confession, but too great an authority over the people; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a desirable thing: but since that is not to be thought of, we are in a woful condition, in which the clergy are, as it were, shut out from any share of the main parts of the care of souls.

My zeal
against se-
paration.

The want of a true, well regulated discipline, is a great defect, owned to be so in the preface to the office of commination: and while we continue in

this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect state. But this did never appear to me to be a just ground of separation ; which I could never think lawful, unless the terms of communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a man to sin : that seems to me the only justifiable cause of separation, of leaving the established church, and of setting up a distinct or opposite communion. Nothing under this seems to be a just ground of rending the body of Christ, or of disturbing the order of the world and the peace of mankind, thereby drawing on that train of ill consequences, that must and do follow upon such a disjointing the society of Christians ; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the sequel grow to hate and to devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being consumed one of another.

I do wish, and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those scruples with which the dissenters are entangled : and though I think they are not all well grounded, yet for peace sake I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained : many of these things were retained at the reformation, to draw the people more entirely into it ; who are apt to judge, especially in times of ignorance, by outward appearances, more than by the real value of things : so the preserving an exterior, that looked somewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect at first on many persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that work : and this was a just and lawful consideration. But it is now at an end ; none now are brought over from

And tenderness to scrupulous consciences.
636

popery by this means ; there is not therefore such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up at first. I confess, it is not advisable, without good reason for it, to make great changes in things that are visible and sensible ; yet, upon just grounds, some may be made without any danger. No inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the cross in baptism, or on laying aside surplices, and regulating cathedrals, especially as to that indecent way of singing prayers, and of laymen's reading the litany : all bowings to the altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use ; the excluding parents from being the sponsors in baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a solemn sponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just exceptions could lie to them.

Thus I wish the terms of communion were made larger and easier ; but since all is now bound on us by a law that cannot be repealed but in parliament, there must be a great change in the minds, both of princes and people, before that can be brought about : therefore the dissenters ought to consider well, what they can do for peace, without sinning against God. The toleration does not at all justify their separation ; it only takes away the force of penal laws against them : therefore, as lying in common discourse is still a sin, though no statute punishes it ; and ingratitude is a base thing, though there is no law against it ; so separating from a national body, and from the public worship, is certainly an ill thing, unless some sin be committed there, in which we think ourselves involved, by joining with that

body and in that worship: so that the toleration is only a freedom from punishment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

I say not this from any dislike of toleration; I think it is a right due to all men; their thoughts are not in their own power; they must think of things, as they appear to them; their consciences are God's; he only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the authority of parents over their children is antecedent to society, and no law that takes it away can be binding; so men are bound, antecedently to all society, to follow what appears to them to be the will of God; and if men would act honestly, the rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would soon determine this matter; since every honest man must own, that he would think himself hardly dealt with, if he were ill used for his opinions, and for performing such parts of worship as he thought himself indispensably obliged to. Indeed the church of Rome has some colour for her cruelty, since she pretends to be infallible. But these practices are absurdly unreasonable among those who own that they may be mistaken, and so may be persecuting the innocent and the orthodox. Persecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the church of Rome, to extirpation; for the bad treatment of those who are suffered still to live in a society, is the creating so many malecontents, who at some time or other may make those who treat them ill feel their revenge: and the principle of persecution, if true, is that to which all have a right, when they have a power to put it in practice: since they, being persuaded that they are in the right,

My zeal against persecution.

637

from that must believe they may lawfully exert against others that severity under which they groaned long themselves. This will be aggravated in them by the voice of revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human nature, chiefly when it comes with the mask and appearance of zeal. I add not here any political considerations, from the apparent interest of nations, which must dispose them to encourage the increase of their people, to advance industry, and to become a sanctuary to all who are oppressed : but though this is visible, and is confessed by all, yet I am now considering this matter only as it is righteous, just, and merciful in the principle ; for if it were not so well supported in those respects, other motives would only be a temptation to princes and states, to be governed by interest, more than by their duty.

My
thoughts
concerning
the clergy.

Having thus given my thoughts in general, with relation to the constitution of our church and the communion with it, I shall proceed, in the next place, to that which is special with relation to the clergy. I have said a great deal on this head in my book of the Pastoral Care, which of all the tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the most : and though it has brought much anger on me from those who will not submit to the plan there laid
638 down, yet it has done much good during my own life, and I hope it will do yet more good after I am dead : this is a subject I have thought much upon, and so I will here add some things to what will be found in that book.

An inward
vocation.

No man ought to think of this profession, unless he feels within himself a love to religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety ; which is chiefly

kept up by secret prayer, and by reading of the scriptures: as long as these things are a man's burden, they are infallible indications that he has no inward vocation, nor motion of the Holy Ghost to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themselves for that function is, that they study books more than themselves, and that they read divinity more in other books than in the scriptures: days of prayer, meditation, and fasting, at least once a quarter in the Ember week, in which they may read over and over again both offices of ordination, and get by heart those passages in the epistles to Timothy and Titus that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right sense of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

Ask yourselves often, (for thus I address myself to you, as if I were still alive,) would you follow that course of life, if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the cross, and in danger of persecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the priesthood for a piece of bread: study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted devotion; be talking often to yourselves, and communing with your own hearts; digest all that you read carefully, that you may remember it so well, as not to be at a loss when any point of divinity is talked of: a little study well digested in a good serious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life: above all things, raise within yourselves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining souls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole life, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy: I saw much of it in the clergy of the church of Rome, though it is both ill directed

and ill conducted: I saw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches: the dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one another asleep. Without a visible alteration in this, you will fall under an universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your ministry.

The function of the clergy.

When you are in orders, be ever ready to perform all the parts of your function; be not anxious about
 639 a settlement; study to distinguish yourselves in your studies, labours, exemplary deportment, and a just sweetness of temper, managed with gravity and discretion; and as for what concerns yourselves, depend on the providence of God; for he will in due time raise up friends and benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the observation of my whole life, that I never knew any one who conducted himself by these rules, but he was brought into good posts, or at least into an easy state of subsistence.

Do not affect to run into new opinions, nor to heat yourselves in disputes about matters of small importance: begin with settling in your minds the foundations of your faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with unbelievers; for that is the spreading corruption of this age: there are few atheists, but many infidels, who are indeed very little better than the atheists. In this argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested, and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you may manage the controversy gently, without any asperity of words, but with a strength of reason: in disputing, do not offer to answer any ar-

gument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expose you, and the cause you maintain; and if you feel-yourselves grow too warm at any time, break off, and persist no longer in the dispute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the cause which you endeavour to defend. In the matter of mysteries be very cautious; for the simplicity in which those sublime truths are delivered in the scriptures, ought to be well studied and adhered to: only one part of the argument should be insisted on, I mean the shortness and defectiveness of our faculties; which, being well considered, will afford a great variety of noble speculations, that are obvious and easily apprehended, to restrain the wanton sallies of some petulant men.

Study to understand well the controversies of the church of Rome; chiefly those concerning infallibility and transubstantiation; for in managing those, their missionaries have a particular address. Learn to view popery in a true light, as a conspiracy to exalt the power of the clergy, even by subjecting the most sacred truths of religion to contrivances for raising their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being saved, besides that prescribed in the gospel. Popery is a mass of impostures, supported by men who manage them with great advantages, and impose them with inexpressible severities, on those who dare call any thing in question that they dictate to them. I see a spirit rising among us, too like that of the church of Rome, of advancing the clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjust pitch: this rather heightens jealousies and prejudices against us, than advances

our real authority; and it will fortify the designs of profane infidels, who desire nothing more than to see the public ministry of the church first disgraced, and then abolished. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead men into the other extreme: we are the dispensers of the word and sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the world will pay so much the more respect and submission to us: and our maintaining an argument for more power than we now have, will be of no effect, unless the world sees that we make a good use of the authority that is already in our hands: it is with the clergy as with princes; the only way to keep their prerogative from being uneasy to their subjects, and from being disputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: this will prevail more effectually than all the arguments of lawyers, with all the precedents of former times. Therefore let the clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to speak plainly, Dodwell's extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the church, and soured men's minds more against it, than all the books wrote, or attempts made against it, could ever have done: and indeed the secret poison of those principles has given too many of the clergy a bias towards popery, with an aversion to the reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of arguments for their au-

thority, which will never succeed till they live better, and labour more: when I say live better, I mean, not only to live without scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them do^b, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekness, sobriety, contempt of the world, and unfeigned love of the brethren; abstracted from the vain conversation of the world, retired, and at home, fasting often, joining prayer and meditation with it; without which, fasting may do well with relation to the body, but will signify little with relation to the mind.

If, to such a course of life, clergymen would add 641 a little more labour, not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproofing, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life; they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would shew more esteem and regard for them, and a blessing from God would attend upon their labours. I say it with great regret, I have observed the clergy in all the places through which I have travelled, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters; but of them all, our clergy is much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives. Do not think I say this to expose you, or to defame this church: those censures have passed on me for my freedom during my life, God knows how unjustly, my designs

^b (This is a valuable concession from a censurer, who, under the pretence of admonition, casts many rash and severe reflections on his brethren.)

being all to awaken the clergy, and by that means to preserve the church ; for which, He who knows all things, knows how much and how long I have been mourning in secret, and fasting and praying before him. And let me say this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of envy and censure, unless a better spirit possesses the clergy, arguments, (and which is more,) laws, and authority, will not prove strong enough to preserve the church ; especially if the nation observes a progress in that bias, which makes many so favourable to popery, and so severe towards the dissenters : this will recommend them the more to pity and favour, and will draw a general odium upon you, that may end in your ruin, or in a persecution ; for which the clergy of this age seem to be very little prepared : God grant those of the next may be more so.

Oh! my brethren, (for I speak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of persons you ought to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, that so you may shine as lights in the world : think of the account you must give for those immortal souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the blood of Christ, who has sent you in his name, to persuade them to be reconciled to God, and at last to present them to him faultless with exceeding joy ; he sees and observes your labours, and will recompense them gloriously in that great day.

I leave all these things on your consciences, and pray earnestly that God may give his blessing to this posthumous labour of mine, that our church may be so built up by your labours, that it may con-

tinue to be long the joy of the whole earth, in the perfection of its beauty, and may be a pattern, as 642 well as give protection, to all the churches of God.

I now turn to my brethren and successors in the episcopal order: you are they in whose hands the government of the church is put; in some respects it is believed to be wholly in you, though I know, and have often felt it, that your power is so limited, that you can do little; exemptions (a scandalous remnant of popery) take a great part of your diocese out of your hands. This I have often wondered at, that some who plead that the government of the church is settled by divine authority in the bishops, can yet, by the virtue of papal bulls, confirmed by an unhappy clause in an act of parliament, exercise episcopal jurisdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the secular power in opposition to that which, according to their principles, is settled by a divine appointment. Archdeacons' visitations were an invention of the latter ages, in which the bishops neglecting their duty, cast a great part of their care upon them; now their visitations are only for form and for fees; and they are a charge on the clergy; so, when this matter is well looked into, I hope archdeacons, with many other burdens that lay heavy on the clergy, shall be taken away. All the various instruments, upon which heavy fees must be raised, were the infamous contrivances of the canonists, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I say nothing to you of your lives: I hope you are and shall ever be shining lights; I wish the pomp of living, and the keeping high tables could be quite taken away; it is a great charge, and no very decent one; a great devourer of time;

My advices
to the bi-
shops.

it lets in much promiscuous company, and much vain discourse upon you: even civility may carry you too far, in a freedom and familiarity that will make you look too like the rest of the world; I hope this is a burden to you: it was indeed one of the greatest burdens of my life, to see so much time lost, to hear so much idle talk, and to be living in a luxurious waste of that which might have been much better bestowed. I had not strength enough to break through that which custom has imposed on those provided with plentiful bishoprics; I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The wives and children of bishops ought to be exemplary in their apparel, and in their whole deportment; remembering that no part of the bishop's honours belongs to them: the wife of a bishop ought to visit the widow and the fatherless, and by a grave authority, instruct and admonish, as well as oblige and favour, the wives of the rest of the clergy.

- 643 The children of bishops ought to be well instructed, and managed with all gravity; bishops ought not to press them beyond their inclinations to take orders; for this looks as if they would thrust them, how unfit or unwilling soever, into such preferments as they can give or procure for them: on the contrary, though their children should desire to go into orders, they ought not to suffer it, unless they see in them a good mind and sincere intentions, with the other necessary qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unless they have a mind to deceive themselves: it is a betraying of their trust, and the worst sort of simony, to provide

children with great dignities and benefices, only as an estate to be given them, without a due regard to their capacities or tempers. Ordinations are the only parts of the episcopal function on which the law has laid no restraint; so this ought to be heavy on your thoughts.

Ordination weeks were always dreadful things to me, when I remembered those words, *Lay hands suddenly on no man, be not partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure.* It is true, those who came to me were generally well prepared as to their studies, and they brought testimonials and titles, which is all that in our present constitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my chaplains: I did that always myself, and examined them chiefly on the proofs of revealed religion, and the terms of salvation, and the new covenant through Christ; for those are the fundamentals: but my principal care was to awaken their consciences, to make them consider whether they had a motion of the Holy Ghost, calling them to the function, and to make them apprehend what belonged both to a spiritual life and to the pastoral care. On these subjects I spoke much and often to every one of them apart, and sometimes to them all together, besides the public examination of them with my chapter.

This was all that I could do: but alas! how defective is this! and it is too well known how easy the clergy are in signing testimonials: that which I here propose is, that every man who intends to be ordained, should be required to come and acquaint the bishop with it a year before: that so he may then talk to his conscience, and give him good di-

An expedient concerning ordinations.

rections, both as to his studies and the course of his life and devotions; and that he may recommend him to the care and inspection of the best clergymen that he knows in the neighbourhood where he lives; that so he may have from him, by some other conveyance than the person concerned, such an account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be proposed, till our universities are put in a
 644 better method, or till seminaries can be raised, for maintaining a number of persons to be duly prepared for holy orders.

The duties
 of a bishop.

As to the labours of a bishop, they ought to think themselves obliged to preach as much as their health and age can admit of; this the form of ordaining bishops sets before them, together with the sense of the church in all ages; the complaint of the best men, in the worst ages, shews how much the sloth and laziness of bishops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the labours of preaching bishops have always been: the people run to hear them, and hearken to their sermons with more than ordinary attention: you will find great comfort in your labours this way, and will see the fruits of them. The discreet conduct of your clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a distance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: a bishop's discourse should be well seasoned, turned chiefly to good subjects, instruction in the matters of religion and the pastoral care: and the more diverting ones ought to be matters of learning, criticism, or history. It is in the power of a bishop to *let no man despise him*.

A grave but sweet deportment, and a holy conversation, will command a general respect; and as

for some hot and froward spirits, the less they are meddled with, they will be the less able to do mischief; they delight in opposition, which they think will make them the more considerable. I have had much experience this way; nothing mortifies them so much as neglect: the more abstracted bishops live, (from the world, from courts, from cabals, and from parties,) they will have the more quiet within themselves; their thoughts will be free, and less entangled, and they will in conclusion be the more respected by all, especially if an integrity and a just freedom appear among them in the house of lords, where they will be much observed; and judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their dioceses.

Nothing will alienate the nation more from them, than their becoming tools to a court, and giving up the liberties of their country, and advancing arbitrary designs; nothing will work more effectually on the dissenters, than a course of moderation towards them; this will disarm their passions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of reason: all care ought to be taken to stifle new controversies in their birth, to check new opinions and vain curiosities.

Upon the whole matter, bishops ought to consider, that the honour given them, and the revenues belonging to them, are such rewards for former services, and such encouragements to go on to more labour and diligence, as ought to be improved, as so many helps and advantages for carrying on the 645 work of the gospel, and their heavenly Father's business: they ought to *meditate on these things, and be wholly in them; so that their profiting may ap-*

Their abstraction from courts and intrigues.

pear to all. They ought to preach in season and out of season, to exhort, admonish, and rebuke, with all authority.

But if they abandon themselves to sloth and idleness; if they neglect their proper function, and follow a secular, a vain, a covetous, or a luxurious course of life; if they, not content with educating their children well, and with such a competency as may set them afloat in the world, think of building up their own houses, and raising up great estates, they will put the world on many unacceptable inquiries: wherefore is this waste made? why are these revenues continued to men who make such an ill use of them? and why is an order kept up, that does the church so little good, and gives it so much scandal? The violences of archbishop Laud, and his promoting arbitrary power, ruined himself and the church both^c. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful consequences: the labours and the learning, the moderation and good lives of the bishops of this age have changed the nation much, with relation to them, and have possessed them of a general esteem; some fiery spirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that which is their true glory^d: I hope another

^c (The archbishop's conduct has in many instances been grossly misrepresented, and the character of one of the most pious and able persons of the age in which he lived, shamefully traduced. He was no enemy to parliaments, understanding, as he says, in his last speech, on the scaffold, the benefit of them too well. And as for violences, they were the severities

of long established, but ill constituted, courts, directed against furious partisans, who were resolved neither to give, nor to take quarter. One of them said afterwards, when sobered by his experience of the ill times which succeeded, that when the king cut off his ears, he would have been justified in taking off his head.)

^d (In what light these pre-

age may carry this yet much further, that so they may be universally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted fathers of the church.

The affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another scene, to say somewhat concerning the patronage of benefices which have a care of souls belonging to them: it is a noble dignity in a family; it was highly esteemed in the times of popery, because the patron was to be named in all the masses said in his church: there is a more real value in it in our constitution, since the patron has the nomination of him to whom the care of souls is to be committed^e; which must take place, unless some just and legal exception can be made by the bishop. Even that is not easy to be maintained in the courts of law, where the bishop will soon be run into so great an expense, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy men into the service of the church, who are, in the sequel, reproaches to it; and this is often the case of the richest and best endowed benefices.

Some sell the next advowson (turn), which I know is said to be legal, though the incumbent lies at the point of death^f; others do not stick to buy and sell benefices, when open and vacant, though this is declared to be simony by law: parents often buy them for their children, and reckon that is their portion:

lates and their successors were viewed by their whig friends, may be collected from the character given of them by the son of one of their great patrons, in his *Memoirs of the Ten last Years of George the Second*, lately published, vol.

II. p. 296.)

^e (Had not the patron the nomination of the clerk, generally speaking, in the times of popery?)

^f (This has been frequently determined to be illegal.)

646 in that case, it is true, there is no perjury in taking the oath, for the person presented is no party to the bargain : often ecclesiastics themselves buy the next advowson, and lodge it with trustees for their own advantage.

Where nothing of all this traffick intervenes, patrons bestow benefices on their children or friends, without considering either their abilities or merit ; favour or kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the benefices of England are disposed of, if not simoniacally, yet at least unworthily, without regard to so sacred a trust, as the care of souls ! Certainly, patrons, who, without due care and inquiry, put souls into bad hands, have much to answer for.

I will not say, that a patron is bound always to bestow his church on the best man he can find ; that may put him on anxieties, out of which it will not be easy to extricate himself ; nor will it be always possible to balance the different excellencies of men, who may have various talents, that lie several ways, and all of them may be useful, some more, some less : but in this I am positive, that no patron answers the obligation of that trust, unless he is well persuaded, that the clerk he presents is a truly good man, has a competent measure of knowledge, zeal, and discretion, so suited to the people for whom he names him, that he has reason to believe he will be a faithful pastor and a prudent guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this on their conscience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy merchandise of the souls of men, which is too common ; it is like

to be a moth on their estates, and may bring a curse on their families, as well as on their persons.

I do not enter into the scandalous practices of nonresidence and pluralities, which are sheltered by so many colours of law among us; whereas the church of Rome, from whence we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour to our great and just reproach: this is so shameful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with detestation and horror: do such men think on the vows they made on their ordination; on the rules in the scriptures, or on the nature of their function, or that it is a care of souls? How long, how long shall this be the peculiar disgrace of our church, which, for ought I know, is the only church in the world that tolerates it? I must add, that I do not reckon the holding poor livings that lie contiguous, a plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent maintenance.

I have now gone through the most important things that occur to my thoughts with relation to the clergy: I turn next to such observations, reflections, and advices, as relate to the laity. I begin with the body of the people: the commonalty of this nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any that ever I saw: they are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns; but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are in the matters of religion: the dissenters have a much larger share of knowledge among them, than is among those who come to our churches. This is the more to be wondered at, considering the plain-

Nonresi-
dence and
pluralities.

Concerning
the body of
the people.

ness in which matters of religion are wrote in this age, and the many small books concerning these, that have been published of late years, which go at easy rates, and of which many thousands are every year sent about by charitable societies in London, to be freely given to such as will but take them and read them : so that this ignorance seems to be obstinate and incurable.

Upon this subject, all that I can propose lies in two advices to the clergy: the one is, that they catechise the youth much at church, not only asking the questions and hearing the answers, but joining to that the explaining the terms in other words, and by turning to the Bible for such passages as prove or enlarge on them : the doing this constantly would infuse into the next age a higher measure of knowledge than the present is like to be blessed with. Long sermons, in which points of divinity or morality are regularly handled, are above the capacity of the people ; short and plain ones, upon a large portion of scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect ; they would make the hearers understand and love the scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often in their sermons, on those sins that their hearers must needs know themselves guilty of, if they are so ; such as swearing, lying, cheating, drunkenness, lewd deportment, breach of promise, love of the world, anger, envy, malice, pride, and luxury : short discourses upon these, and often repeated, in many glances and reflections on them, setting forth the real evil of them, with the ill consequences that follow, not only to others, but to the persons themselves, are the best means can be thought of for reforming them ; and these will

have an effect on some, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the rest, they ought to be called on, upon all occasions, to reflect on their ways, to consider how they live, to pray in secret to God, confessing their sins to him, begging pardon and mercy for what is past, and his holy Spirit to assist, strengthen, and direct them for the time to come, 648 forming sincere resolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every particular sin that they find they may have fallen into. If the clergy will faithfully do their duty in this method, and join to it earnest prayers for their people, they may hope, through the blessing of God, to succeed better in their labours. The people ought to be often put in mind of the true end of the rest on the Lord's day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity for meditations and reflections on themselves, on what they have said or done, and on what has befallen them the former week; and to consider what may be before them in the week they are entering on. Ministers ought to visit their people, not only when they are sick unto death, but when they are in an ill state of health, or when they are under affliction: these are the times in which their spirits are tender, and they will best bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed in the discreetest and most affectionate manner: and a clergyman ought not to be a respecter of persons, and neglect the meanest of his cure: they have as immortal souls as the greatest, and for which Christ has paid the same ransom.

From the commonalty I turn to the gentry: they are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went ^{Of the gentry.}

amongst. The Scotch, though less able to bear the expense of a learned education, are much more knowing: the reason of which is this; the Scotch, even of indifferent fortunes, send private tutors with their children, both to schools and colleges; these look after the young gentlemen mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and so make them perfecter in it: they generally go abroad a year or two, and see the world; this obliges them to behave themselves well. Whereas a gentleman here is often both ill-taught and ill-bred: this makes him haughty and insolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion: so that, after they have forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge but what they learn in plays and romances: they grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue; and so become crude and unpolished infidels. If they have taken a wrong tincture at the university, that too often disposes them to hate and despise all those who separate from the church, though they can give no better reason than the papists have for hating heretics, because they forsake the church: in those seats of education, instead of being formed to love their country and constitution, the laws and
 649 liberties of it, they are rather disposed to love arbitrary government, and to become slaves to absolute monarchy §: a change of interest, provocation, or

§ (To what did this instructor form his disciples, when he asserted, that the words of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. xiii. "being designed by the Holy Ghost " to be a part of the rule of

" all Christians, do prove, that " whoever hath the supreme " power is to be submitted to, " and never resisted?" *Burnet's Vindic. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 41. See also his *Royal Martyr*, p. 22.)

some other consideration, may set them right again as to the public ; but they have no inward principle of love to their country, and of public liberty : so that they are easily brought to like slavery, if they may be the tools for managing it ^h.

This is a dismal representation of things: I have seen the nation thrice on the brink of ruin, by men thus tainted. After the restoration, all were running fast into slavery ; had king Charles the second been attentive to those bad designs (which he pursued afterwards with more caution) upon his first return, slavery and absolute power might then have been settled into a law, with a revenue able to maintain it : he played away that game without thought, and he had then honest ministers, who would not serve him in it : after all that he did during the course of his reign, it was scarce credible, that the same temper should have returned in his time : yet he recovered it in the last four years of his reign ; and the gentry of England were as active and zealous to throw up all their liberties, as their ancestors ever had been to preserve them. This continued above half a year in his brother's reign ; and he depended so much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands : but he, or rather his priests, had the skill and dexterity to play this game likewise away, and lose it a second time ; so that at the revolution all seemed to come again into their wits. But men who have no principles cannot be steady : now the greater part of the capital gentry seem to

The danger
of losing
public li-
berty.

^h (The old tory gentry, whatever might be the conduct of their leaders, struggled hard for liberty and property, instead of

being, as this author intimates, the venal tools of destroyers of both.)

return again to a love of tyranny, provided they may be the under-tyrants themselves; and they seem to be even uneasy with a court, when it will not be as much a court as they would have it. This is a folly of so particular a nature, that really it wants a name: it is natural for poor men, who have little to lose, and much to hope for, to become the instruments of slavery; but it is an extravagance peculiar to our age, to see rich men grow, as it were, in love with slavery and arbitrary power. The root of all this is, that our gentry are not betimes possessed with a true measure of solid knowledge and sound religion, with a love to their country, a hatred of tyranny, and a zeal for liberty. Plutarch's *Lives*, with the Greek and Roman history, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all history, more particularly that of our own nation; which they should not read in abridgments, but in the fullest and most copious collectors of it, that they may see to the bottom what is our constitution, and what are our laws, what are the methods bad princes have taken to enslave us, and by what conduct we have been
650 preserved: gentlemen ought to observe these things, and to entertain one another often upon these subjects, to raise in themselves, and to spread around them to all others, a noble ardour for law and liberty. They ought to understand popery well, to view it in its politics, as well as in its religious corruptions, that they may observe and guard against their secretest practices; particularly that main one, that prevails so fatally among us, of making us despise the foreign churches, and hate the dissenters at home. The whole body of protestants, if united,

might be an equal match to the church of Rome: it is much superior to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal which the monastic orders, but chiefly the Jesuits, spread through their whole communion: whereas the reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed, in matters that relate to religion. The chief maxim by which men, who have a true zeal for their religion and their country, ought to govern themselves, is, to live within the extent of their estates, to be above luxury and vanity, and all expenses that waste their fortunes: luxury must drive them to court favour, to depend on ministers, and to aspire after places and pensions; and as the seeking after these does often complete the ruin of broken families, so in many they prove only a reprieve, and not a recovery; whereas he who is contented with his fortune, and measures his way of living by it, has another root within him, out of which every noble and generous thought will naturally spring. Public liberty has no sure foundation but in virtue, in parsimony, and moderation: where these fail, liberty may be preserved by accidents and circumstances of affairs, but it has no bottom to rest securely on. A knowing and virtuous gentleman, who understands his religion and loves it; who practises the true rules of virtue without affectation and moroseness; who knows enough of law to keep his neighbours in order, and to give them good advice; who keeps meetings for his county, and restrains vice and disorder at them; who lives hospitably, frugally, and charitably; who respects and encourages good clergymen, and worships God both in his family and at church; who educates his children well, who treats

his servants gently, and deals equitably with his tenants, and all others with whom he has any concerns ; such a man shines, and is a public blessing to all that see him or come near him. Some such instances are yet left among us ; but alas ! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for gentlemen
 651 to think it is one of the honours of their houses, that none must go out of them sober ; it is but a little more infamous to poison them ; and yet this passes as a character of a noble housekeeper, who entertains his friends kindly. Idleness and ignorance are the ruin of the greatest part, who, if they are not fit for better things, should descend to any thing, rather than suffer themselves to sink into sloth ; that will carry them to the excesses of hunting, gaming, and drinking, which may ruin both soul, body, and estate. If a man, by an ill-managed or a neglected education, is so turned, that every sort of study or reading is a burden, then he ought to try if he has a genius to any mechanism that may be an entertainment to him : the managing a garden is a noble, and may be made a useful amusement ; the taking some part of his estate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his time well, and may turn to a good account ; in a word, some employments may be better than others ; but there is no employment so bad as the having none at all ; the mind will contract a rust, and an unfitness for every good thing ; and a man must either fill up his time with good or at least innocent business, or it will run to the worst sort of waste, to sin and vice.

Errors in
education.

I have often thought it a great error, to waste

young gentlemen's years so long in learning Latin, by so tedious a grammar; I know those who are bred to the professions in literature must have the Latin correctly; and for that, the rules of grammar are necessary: but these are not at all requisite to those who need only so much Latin as thoroughly to understand and delight in the Roman authors and poets. But suppose a youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable aversion to Latin, his education is not for that to be despaired of; there is much noble knowledge to be had in the English and French languages; geography, history, chiefly that of our own country, the knowledge of nature, and the more practical parts of the mathematics, (if he has not a genius for the demonstrative,) may make a gentleman very knowing, though he has not a word of Latin; there is a fineness of thought, and a nobleness of expression indeed in the Latin authors, that will make them the entertainment of a man's whole life, if he once understands and reads them with delight: but if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the education of an ill Latin scholar is to be given over. A competent measure of the knowledge of the law is a good foundation for distinguishing a gentleman; but I am in doubt, whether his being for some time in the inns of court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious person: those who think they are there only to pass away so many of their years, com- 652 monly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, though it is not much practised, to get a learned young lawyer, who has not got into much business, to come and pass away a long vacation or two with a gentleman,

to carry him through such an introduction to the study of the law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to prosecute his study in it. A competent skill in this makes a man very useful in his country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to those about him: it will enable him to be a good justice of peace, and to settle matters by arbitration, so as to prevent law-suits; and, which ought to be the top of an English gentleman's ambition, to be an able parliament-man: to which no gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true zeal for his country, with an inflexible integrity and resolution to pursue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the public: the parliament is the fountain of law, and the fence of liberty; and no sort of instruction is so necessary for a gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation.

And in
marriages.

Gentlemen in their marriages ought to consider a great many things more than fortune, though, generally speaking, that is the only thing sought for: a good understanding, good principles, and a good temper, with a liberal education, and acceptable person, are the first things to be considered: and certainly fortune ought to come after all these. Those bargains now in fashion make often unhallowed marriages, in which (besides the greater evils) more fortune is often wasted than is brought, with a vain, a foolish, an indiscreet, and a hated wife. The first thought in choosing a wife ought to be, to find a help meet for the man: in a married state the mutual study of both ought to be to help and please one another: this is the foundation of all domestic happiness; as to stay at home and to love home is the

greatest help to industry, order, and the good government of a family. I have dwelt the longer on this article, because on the forming the gentry well, the good government of the nation, both in and out of parliament, does so much depend.

As for the men of trade and business, they are, ^{Of trade and industry.} generally speaking, the best body in the nation, generous, sober, and charitable: so that, while the people in the country are so immersed in their affairs, that the sense of religion cannot reach them, there is a better spirit stirring in our cities; more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior, mixed with ⁶⁵³ these in the capital city; but upon the whole, they are the best we have: want of exercise is a great prejudice to their health, and a corrupter of their minds, by raising vapours and melancholy, that fills many with dark thoughts, rendering religion, which affords the truest joy, a burden to them, and making them even a burden to themselves; this furnishes prejudices against religion to those who are but too much disposed to seek for them. The too constant intercourse of visits in town is a vast consumption of time, and gives much occasion to talk, which is at best idle, if not worse: this certainly wants regulation, and is the effect of idleness and vanity.

The stage is the great corrupter of the town; and ^{Of the stage.} the bad people of the town have been the chief corrupters of the stage, who run most after those plays that defile the stage and the audience: poets will seek to please, as actors will look for such pieces as draw the most spectators: they pretend their design is to discourage vice; but they do really recommend it in

the most effectual manner. It is a shame to our nation and religion, to see the stage so reformed in France, and so polluted still in England. Moliere for comedy, and Racine for tragedy, are great patterns; few can, and as few will study to copy after them. But till another scene appears, certainly our plays are the greatest debauchers of the nation. Gaming is a waste of time, that rises out of idleness, and is kept up by covetousness; those who can think, read, or write to any purpose, and those who understand what conversation and friendship are, will not want such a help to wear out the day; so that, upon the whole matter, sloth and ignorance, bad education and ill company, are the chief sources of all our vice and disorders.

Of educating the other sex.

The ill methods of schools and colleges give the chief rise to the irregularities of the gentry; as the breeding young women to vanity, dressing, and a false appearance of wit and behaviour, without proper work or a due measure of knowledge and a serious sense of religion, is the source of the corruption of that sex: something like monasteries without vows would be a glorious design, and might be so set on foot, as to be the honour of a queen on the throne: but I will pursue this no furtherⁱ.

Of the nobility.

My next address is to the nobility: most of what I have proposed to our gentry does in a more eminent manner belong to them; the higher their condition is raised above other gentlemen, so much the more eminent ought they to be in knowledge and virtue; the share they have in judicature in the

ⁱ If she had done so, who so likely to traduce her as aiming to introduce popery by degrees? *Cole's MS. Note.*

house of lords should oblige them to acquaint themselves with the rules and principles of law ; though an unbiassed integrity, neither moved by friendship 654 nor party, with a true understanding, will for the most part direct them in their judgment, since few cases occur, where the point of law is dark or doubtful.

Every person of a high rank, whose estate can bear it, ought to have two persons to manage his ^{Of their education.} education ; the one, a governor to form his mind, to give him true notions, to represent religion and virtue in a proper light to him, to give him a view of geography, not barely describing the maps, but adding to it the natural history of every country, its productions, arts, and trade, with the religion and government of the country, and a general idea of the history of the world, and of the various revolutions that have happened in it. Such a view will open a young person's mind : it must be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient government in Greece, but much more that of Rome, must be minutely delivered, that the difference between a just and a vicious government may be well apprehended. The fall of the Roman greatness, under the emperors, by reason of the absolute power that let vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their courts, but their armies, ought to be fully opened : then the Gothic government and the feudal law should be clearly explained, to open the original of our own constitution. In all this, the chief care of a wise and good former of youth ought to be, to possess a young mind with noble principles of justice, liberty, and virtue, as the true basis of government ; and with an aversion to violence and arbitrary power, servile flattery, faction and luxury, from

which the corruption and ruin of all governments have arisen.

To this governor (qualified for all this, to be sought out and hired at any rate) I would join a master for languages and other things, in which this young lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the governor, that his time may not be lost in trifles; that nothing of pedantry or of affectation may be infused into a young mind, which is to be prepared for great things. A simplicity of style, with a true and grave pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his thoughts, on the sudden, with a due force and weight both of words and voice. I have often wondered to see parents, who are to leave vast estates, and who stick at no expense in other things, yet be so frugal and narrow in the education of their children. They owe to their country a greater care in preparing the eldest, to make that figure in it to which he is born: and they owe to their younger children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, such a liberal education, as may fit
655 them to answer the dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further strength and addition to their family. I have been amazed to see how profuse some are in procuring good dancing, fencing, and riding-masters for their children, and setting them out in fine clothes; and how sparing they are in that which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and to their country. I look on the education of the youth, as the foundation of all that can be proposed for bettering the next age: it ought

to be one of the chief cares of all governments, though there is nothing more universally neglected. How do some of our peers shine, merely by their virtue and knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high titles and great estates!

Noblemen begin to neglect the having chaplains Of their chaplains. in their houses, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the behaviour of too many of these; light and idle, vain and insolent, impertinent and pedantic; by this want, however, the worship of God, and the instruction of servants, is quite neglected: but, if a little more care were taken to choose well, a lord might make a good use of a chaplain, not only for those ends which I have mentioned, but for the reading such books as the lord desires to be well informed about, but has not leisure to peruse himself. These he may read by his chaplain, and receive an account of them from him, and see what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leisure, though not for the whole book: by this means he may keep his chaplain well employed, and may increase his own stock of knowledge, and be well furnished with relation to all new books and new questions that are started. The family of a nobleman, well chosen and well ordered, might look like a little court in his country: for though it is a happiness to the nation, that the great number of idle and useless retainers, that were about noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet still they must entertain many servants, to be either nuisances where they live, or to set a pattern to others. The greater men are, they ought to be the more modest and affable, and more easy of access, that so they may, by the best sort of popularity, render them-

selves acceptable to their country; they ought more particularly to protect the oppressed, to mortify insolence and injustice, and to enter into the true grievances of their country; that they may represent these, where it may be proper; and shew at least a tender care of those who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a
 656 redress of their grievances. A continued pursuit of such methods, with an exemplary deportment, would soon restore the nobility to their ancient lustre, from which they seem very sensible how much they are fallen, though they do not take the proper methods to recover it. Have we not seen in our time four or five lords, by their knowledge, good judgment, and integrity, raise the house of peers to a pitch of reputation and credit, that seemed once beyond the expectation or belief of those who now see it? A progress in this method will give them such authority in the nation, that they will be able, not only to support their own dignity, but even to support the throne and the church. If so small a number has raised peerage to such a regard, that the people, contrary to all former precedents, have considered them more than their own representatives; what might not be expected from a greater number pursuing the same methods! These would become again that which their title imports, the peers of the crown, as well as of the kingdom, of which that noble right of putting on their coronets at the coronation is a clear proof^k. Great titles, separated from the great estates, and the

^k (*Pares regni*, peers of the realm, we have heard of, but not *pares coronæ*, vel *regis*, crown peers, or king's peers, except in the jest of K. James I. who, on the presentation of an

address to him by the house of commons, ordered chairs to be set for so many kings. The peers are each other's peers, deriving their peerage from the same regal source.)

interest their ancestors had in their countries, must sink, if not supported with somewhat of more value, great merit, and a sublime virtue.

After I have offered what I think of the greatest importance to the several ranks of men in the nation, I go next to consider that august body in which they are all united; I mean the parliament. As long as elections are set to sale, so long we are under a disease in our vitals, that, if it be not remedied in time, must ruin us at last, and end in a change of government; and what that may be, God only knows.

All laws that can be made will prove ineffectual to cure so great an evil, till there comes to be a change and reformation of morals in the nation; we see former laws are evaded, and so will all the laws that can be made, till the candidates and electors both become men of another temper and other principles than appear now among them: the expense of elections ruins families; and these families will come in time to expect a full reparation from the crown; or they will take their revenges on it, if that hope fails them: the commons will grow insolent upon it, and look on the gentry as in their dependence. During the war, and while the heat of parties ferments so much, it is not easy to find a proper remedy for this: when the war is over, one expedient in the power of the crown is, to declare that elections to parliament shall be annual: but if the same heat and rivalry of parties should still continue, that would ruin families but so much the sooner.

The most promising expedient, next to a general reformation, which may seem too remote and too hopeless a prospect, is, to try how this great division

Concerning
the two
houses of
parliament.

Of elec-
tions.

of the nation into whig and tory may be lessened, if not quite removed : great numbers on both sides are drawn to take up many groundless jealousies one of another, with which men of honest minds are possessed.

Of the parties of whig and tory.

There are many of the tories that without doubt look towards St. Germain's and France ; but this is not true of the bulk of their party. Many infidels, who hate all religion and all churches alike, (being only against the church of England because it is in possession,) do join with the whigs and the dissenters, and appear for them ; from thence the ill-disposed tories possess many of those who are better minded, with an opinion, that the whigs favour the dissenters, only to ruin and destroy religion ; and great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant men are drawn into this snare. The principles of the whigs lead them to be for the revolution, and for every thing that has been done to support and establish that ; and therefore those who in their hearts hate the revolution, fortify and promote their designs, by keeping up a jealousy of all that body, which alone can and must support it. The whigs are indeed favoured by the dissenters, because they see their principles are for toleration, in which it is visible that the dissenters acquiesce, without pursuing any design contrary to the established church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few concessions were made them. On the other hand, the whigs, seeing the leaders of the tories drive on ill designs so visibly, (endeavouring to weaken the government, to dis-joint the alliance, and to put an untimely end to the war, thereby serving the interests of France and of

the pretender,) and that they are followed in this by the body of the tories, who promote their elections, and adhere to them in all divisions in the two houses of parliament, and are united in one party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: and thus they are jealous of them all. This aversion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the war lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate; but so great a disease will not be cured, till a prince of spirit and authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure. We see oaths and subscriptions make no discrimination, since the abjuration, though penned as fully as words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing, in order to the throwing up all at once, if they should come to have a clear majority in parliament, and durst lay aside the mask.

In the parliament of 1701, called the impeaching 658 parliament, and in the first parliament called by the queen, there was a majority of tories; yet it appeared, the men of ill designs durst not venture to discover themselves to their party and to the nation; so they proceeded with caution. They designed in 1701 to have had the duke of Anjou acknowledged, in order to have disgraced the late king, and his faithfullest ministers; that so the princes abroad, who could do nothing without assistance from England, despairing of that, might be forced to submit to the offers France made them. In the first year of the queen's reign, they durst make no visible steps that way neither; but they tried to raise the heat against the dissenters, to make a breach on the toleration, and to give that body of men such a jealousy of the go-

vernment as should quite dishearten them, who were always the readiest to lend money to the public, without which the war could not be carried on vigorously. By this it may appear, that many of the Tories have not those views and designs that perhaps some of their leaders may be justly charged with. Now a wise and an active prince may find methods to undeceive those who are thus fatally imposed on, and led blindfold into the serving the ill designs of others; especially if he will propose it as a sure way to his favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better understanding and frequent meetings among the men of good lives and soft tempers in both parties, who by a mutual conversation will so open themselves to one another, that jealousies may by this means be easily removed. I can carry this no further at present; men of good intentions will easily find out proper methods to bring about this worthy design of healing a breach that has rent the nation from top to bottom. The parties are now so stated and kept up, not only by the elections of parliament-men, that return every third year, but even by the yearly elections of mayors and corporation-men, that they know their strength; and in every corner of the nation the two parties stand, as it were, listed against one another. This may come, in some critical time or other, at the death of a prince, or on an invasion, to have terrible effects; as at present it creates, among the best of each side, a coldness and a jealousy, and a great deal of hatred and virulence among the much greater part.

The correction of our laws.

There are two things of a very public nature that deserve the care of a parliament: the one must begin in the house of lords, and the other in the house

of commons. The law of England is the greatest grievance of the nation, very expensive and dilatory: there is no end of suits, especially when they are brought into chancery. It is a matter of deep study to be exact in the law: great advantages are taken upon inconsiderable errors; and there are loud complaints of that which seems to be the chief security of property, I mean juries, which are said to be much practised upon. If a happy peace gives us quiet to look to our own affairs, there cannot be a worthier design undertaken, than to reduce the law into method, to digest it into a body, and to regulate the chancery so as to cut off the tediousness of suits, and, in a word, to compile one entire system of our laws. The work cannot be undertaken, much less finished, but by so great an authority as at least an address from the house of lords to the queen. Nothing, after the war is happily ended, can raise the glory of her reign more, than to see so noble a design set on foot in her time: this would make her name sacred to posterity, which would sensibly feel all the taxes they have raised fully repaid them, if the law were made shorter, clearer, more certain, and of less expense.

The other matter, that must take its rise in the house of commons, is about the poor, and should be much laid to heart. It may be thought a strange motion from a bishop, to wish that the act for charging every parish to maintain their own poor were well reviewed, if not quite taken away; this seems to encourage idle and lazy people in their sloth, when they know they must be maintained: I know no other place in the world where such a law was ever

Provisions
for the poor.

made. Scotland is much the poorest part of the island, yet the poor there are maintained by the voluntary charities of the people: Holland is the perfectest pattern for putting charity in a good method; the poor work as much as they can; they are humble and industrious; they never ask any charity, and yet they are well relieved. When the poor see that their supply must in a great measure depend on their behaviour and on their industry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themselves, and move others to supply them more liberally; and when men's offerings are free, (and yet are called for every time they go to church or to sacrament,) this will oblige those who distribute them to be exact and impartial in it: since their ill conduct might make the givers trust them with their charity no more, but distribute it themselves. If a spirit of true piety and charity should ever prevail in this nation, those whose condition raises them above the drudgery of servile labour, might employ some years of their life in this labour of love, and relieve one another in their turn, and so distribute among them this noble part of government. All this must begin in the house of commons; and I leave it to the consideration of the wise and worthy members of that body, to turn their thoughts to this, as soon as by a
 660 happy peace we are delivered from the cares of the war, and are at leisure to think of our own affairs at home.

Of shorter
sessions of
parliament.

One thing more I presume to suggest, which is, that we may have fewer and shorter sessions of parliament; the staying long in town both wastes estates, and corrupts the morals of members; their

beginning so late in the day to enter upon business is one great occasion of long sessions^k; they are seldom met till about twelve a-clock; and except on a day in which some great points are to be discussed, upon which the parties divide, they grow disposed to rise after two or three hours' sitting. The authority of the prince must be interposed to make them return to the old hours of eight and nine; and if from that time they sat till two, a great deal of business might be despatched in a short session. It is also to be hoped, that, when the war is ended, parliaments will not give the necessary supplies from year to year, as in the time of war, but will settle methods for paying the public debt, and for the support of the government, for two, if not for three years. The ill effects of an annual meeting of parliament are so visible and so great, that I hope nothing but invincible necessity will ever keep us under the continuance of so great an inconveni-

^k This is shamefully grown of late, even to two of the clock. I have done all in my power to prevent it, and it has been one of the griefs and burdens of my life. It has innumerable inconveniences attending it. The prince of Wales that now is, has mentioned it to me several times with concern, and did it again this very day, (7th of October 1759,) and it gives me hopes, that by his means it may in time be corrected. I told him, that in king William's time, those of his ministers who had the care of the government business in the house of commons, were dismissed by him to be there

by eleven o'clock. But it is not the fault of the present king; his hours are early. It is the bad practice of the higher offices, and the members fall into it as suiting their late hours of pleasures, exercise, or other private avocations. The modern practice too of long adjournments at Christmas and Easter, and the almost constant late adjournments over Saturdays are a great delay of business, and of the sessions. This last was begun by sir Robert Walpole, for the sake of his hunting, and was then much complained of, but now every body is for it. These things want reformation. O.

ence¹. I speak of this with the more concern, because this is not only a great charge on bishops, heavy on the richer, and intolerable to the poorer bishoprics; but chiefly, because it calls them away from their dioceses, and from minding their proper work, and fills their heads too much with secular thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with secular company; from which the more abstracted they are, as their minds will be purer and freer, so they will be able to follow their own business with less distraction, in a more constant attendance on the ministry of the word, and prayer, to which, in imitation of the apostles, they ought to give themselves continually.

I have now gone over what seemed to me most practicable, as well as most important, for all ranks of men severally in the nation, as well as for that great union of them all in the representative of the whole in parliament: I have not gone into wild no-

¹ This has, I confess, some of the evils here mentioned, but parliaments are preserved, and power kept in awe and order, by the annual meeting of parliament, and only by that. See *antea*, 460. There are other and better causes, closer attendance and shorter sessions; a greater attention to the proper business of parliament; less haunting of courts and levees of ministers; not coming into parliament as the introduction to preferments; not bringing up their families, and having great houses in town, and villas near it, but returning to their home in the country as soon

as the parliament breaks up, and employing their fortunes in hospitality there, and not ruining their estates in the luxury of all sorts of living in London, which is false grandeur for a country gentleman, and gives him no credit; and so most of their ancestors thought, even in times not very far back, who, with as great property and character, did not disdain to come up to parliament with few attendants, to live in lodgings, and eat at frugal ordinaries in company with one another. Their great tables were in the country, and for the country. O.

tions of an imaginary reformation, more to be wished than hoped for; but have only touched on such ill practices, and bad dispositions, as with a little care and good government may be in some measure redressed and corrected. And now, having by all these, as by so many steps, risen up to the throne, I will end this address to the nation, with an humble representation to those who are to sit on it.

I have had the honour to be admitted to much 661
free conversation with five of our sovereigns; king ^{An address to our}
Charles the second, king James the second, king ^{princes.}
William the third, queen Mary, and queen Anne^m.
King Charles's behaviour was a thing never enough
to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man,
easy of access, free in his discourse, and sweet in
his whole deportment: this was managed with great
art, and it covered bad designs; it was of such use
to him, that it may teach all succeeding princes, of
what advantage an easiness of access and an oblig-
ing behaviour may be: this preserved him; it often
disarmed those resentments which his ill conduct
in every thing, both public and private, possessed
all thinking people with very early, and all sorts of
people at last: and yet none could go to him, but
they were in a great measure softened before they
left him: it looked like a charm, that could hardly
be resisted: yet there was no good-nature under

^m I am ignorant what freedoms he took when admitted, but I, that lived in all those reigns, know, that he was the standing jest of the court in every one of them, for his confident intrusions, and saucy, rude behaviour: and that the five, in their several turns,

have complained, that they never failed to hear again of whatever they said to him: which, I suppose, made them cautious of being too free themselves, whatever he might be; who was never suspected of being over modest. D.

that, nor was there any truth in him. King James had great application to business, though without a right understanding; that application gave him a reputation, till he took care to throw it off: if he had not come after king Charles, he would have passed for a prince of a sweet temper, and easy of access. King William was the reverse of all this; he was scarce accessible, and was always cold and silent; he minded affairs abroad so much, and was so set on the war, that he scarce thought of his government at home: this raised a general disgust, which was improved by men of ill designs, so that it perplexed all his affairs, and he could scarce support himself at home, whilst he was the admiration of all abroad. Queen Mary was affable, cheerful, and lively, spoke much, and yet under great reserves, minded business, and came to understand it well; she kept close to rules, chiefly to those set her by the king; and she charmed all that came near her. Queen Anne is easy of access, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herself to so few, and is so cold and general in her answers, that people soon find that the chief application is to be made to her ministers and favourites, who in their turns have an entire credit and full power with her: she has laid down the splendour of a court too much, and eats privately; so that except on Sundays, and a few hours twice or thrice a week at night in the drawing room, she appears so little, that her court is as it were abandonedⁿ. Out of all

ⁿ (The bishop has the candour to speak in the following terms of the queen after her decease, in a sermon preached

before her successor in 1714.
 " Our late gracious queen was
 " a princess, whom in a course
 " of many years I had the ho-

these princes' conduct, and from their successes in their affairs, it is evident what ought to be the measures of a wise and good prince, who would govern the nation happily and gloriously.

The first, the most essential, and most indispensable rule for a king, is, to study the interest of the nation, to be ever in it, and to be always pursuing it; this will lay in for him such a degree of confidence, that he will be ever safe with his people, when they feel they are safe in him. No part of our story shews this more visibly than queen Elizabeth's reign, in which the true interest of the nation

"nour to know so particularly,
 "that I am bound to say, I
 "saw great and eminent virtues in her, the height of
 "conjugal affection, and of
 "motherly care, an engaging
 "mildness towards all persons, a constant readiness
 "to acts of charity, with an
 "uninterrupted course of solemn devotion, and a high
 "degree of patience and submission to the will of God,
 "under long and sharp pains.
 "In these she was a great example; these fell all under
 "my particular observation,
 "for I presume not to speak
 "of those things, into the secret of which I was never called, but only of things that I
 "saw and knew. When the fatal
 "hour of her dissolution came,
 "it was with such a sudden
 "stroke, that all the world
 "was surprised, and all bad
 "designs were prevented."

The existence of such designs may well be doubted; see notes on this History vol. II. pp. 581. 780. But a remark-

able circumstance relating to the last moments of the queen is mentioned by Carte in his Papers preserved in the Bodleian library, and obligingly communicated by Dr. Bandinel. "The queen before she died, sent for the bishop of London, (Robinson,) made a sort of confession to him, particularly as to her brother, for it could not well relate" (by what here follows) to any thing else; when as the bishop took leave of her to go out of the room, he said aloud in the presence of the duchess of Ormond, and other company, 'Madam, I'll obey your command, but it will cost me my head.' The queen proposed to receive the sacrament next day, but died first." Her letters to her father king James, requesting his forgiveness of her conduct towards him, are to be seen in the Life of that king published by Dr. Clarke from the Stuart Papers.)

was constantly pursued ; and this was so well understood by all, that every thing else was forgiven her and her ministers both. Sir Simonds D'Ewe's Journal shews a treatment of parliaments, that could not have been borne at any other time, or under any other administration : this was the constant support of king William's reign, and continues to support the present reign, as it will support all who adhere steadily to it.

A prince, that would command the affections and purses of this nation, must not study to stretch his prerogative, or be uneasy under the restraints of law ; as soon as this humour shews itself, he must expect, that a jealousy of him, and an uneasy opposition to him, will follow through the whole course of his reign ; whereas if he governs well, parliaments will trust him, as much as a wise prince would desire to be trusted ; and will supply him in every war that is necessary, either for their own preservation, or the preservation of those allies, with whom mutual interests and leagues unite him : but though, soon after the restoration, a slavish parliament supported king Charles in the Dutch war, yet the nation must be strangely changed, before any thing of that sort can happen again °.

One of the most detestable and the foolishhest maxims with relation to our government, is to keep up parties and a rivalry among them ; to shift and change ministers, and to go from one party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the prince more money, or to give him more authority : this will in conclusion render him odious and

° (He must mean the second war, for the first was popular.)

contemptible to all parties, who, growing accustomed to his fickleness, will never trust him, but rather study to secure themselves, by depressing him; of which the reign of Henry the third of France is a signal instance. We saw what effects this had on king Charles's reign; and king William felt what an ill step he had made, near the end of his reign, in pursuing this maxim ^P. Nothing creates to a prince such a confidence, as a constant and clear firmness and steadiness of government, with an unblemished integrity in all his professions; and nothing will create a more universal dependence on him, than when it is visible he studies to allay the heats of parties, and to reconcile them to one another; this will demonstrate that he loves his people, and that he has no ill designs of his own. 663

A prince, who would be well served, ought to seek out among his subjects the best and most capable of the youth, and see to their good education at home and abroad; he should send them to travel, and order his ministers abroad to keep such for some time about them, and to send them from court to

^P He did it from necessity, not from any maxims of policy. I am persuaded such were his times, that without it he could not have carried on his government, or held his crown. His parliaments forced him into it, and the nation were embittered against his whig ministers, although very unjustly. Could they have established the protestant succession, or many other great designs of king William, which he, happily

for posterity, obtained by compounding for them with the leaders of the Tories, even against the principles of most of the party? The Whigs have injured the character of king William in this matter, and this author particularly so, by comparing him, on this occasion, with king Charles the second, who did it from the worst motives, and for the most ignoble ends. See pp. 4, 160 in this vol. O.

court, to learn their language, and observe their tempers: if but twelve such were constantly kept, on an allowance of 250*l.* a year, the whole expense of this would rise but to 3000*l.* a year: by this inconsiderable charge, a prince might have a constant nursery for a wise and able ministry. But those ought to be well chosen; none ought to pretend to the nomination; it ought to rise from the motion of the honestest and most disinterested of all his ministers, to the prince in secret. As great a care ought to be had in the nomination of the chaplains of his ministers abroad, that there may be a breed of worthy clergymen, who have large thoughts and great notions, from a more enlarged view of mankind and of the world. If a prince would have all that serve him grateful and true to him, he must study to find out who are the properest and worthiest men, capable of employments, and prevent their applications, and surprise them with bestowing good posts unsought, and raising them higher, as they serve well: when it is known, that a prince has made it his maxim to follow this method in distributing his favours, he will cut off applications for them; which will otherwise create a great uneasiness to him, and have this certain ill effect, that, where there are many pretenders, one must have the preference to all the rest; so that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of envy at him who has obtained the favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as possible. This has no where worse effects than among the clergy, in the disposal of the dignities of the church; and therefore queen Mary resolved to break those as-

pirings; which resolution she carried on effectually for some years: a constant pursuing that maxim would have a great effect on the nation.

Frequent progresses round the nation, so divided, that once in seven, eight, or ten years, the chief places of it might be gone through, would recommend a prince wonderfully to the people; especially if he were gentle and affable, and would so manage his progress, that it should not be a charge to any, by refusing to accept of entertainments from any person whatsoever: for the accepting these only from such as could easily bear the charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal 664 rank, though not of equal estates, would likewise desire to treat the prince. So to make a progress every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the sure method would be, according to the established rule of the household, for the prince to carry the travelling wardrobe with him, and to take such houses in the way as are most convenient for him; but to entertain himself and his court there, and have a variety of tables for such as may come to attend on him. On this queen Mary had set her heart, if she had lived to see peace in her days; by this means a prince may see and be seen by his people; he may know some men that deserve to be distinguished, of whom otherwise he would never have heard; and he may learn and redress the grievances of his people, preventing all parliamentary complaints, except for such matters as cannot be cured but by a remedy in parliament: methods like these would make a prince become the idol of his people.

It is certain, that their affections must follow a

prince, who would consider government and the royal dignity as his calling, and would be daily employed in it, studying the good and happiness of his people, pursuing the properest ways for promoting it, without either delivering himself up to the sloth of luxury and vain magnificence, or affecting the barbarity of war and conquest ; which render those who make the world a scene of blood and rapine, indeed the butchers of mankind. If these words seem not decent enough, I will make no other apology, but that I use them, because I cannot find worse : for as they are the worst of men, so they deserve the worst of language. Can it be thought that princes are raised to the highest pitch of glory and wealth, on design to corrupt their minds with pride, and contempt of the rest of mankind, as if they were made only to be the instruments of their extravagancies, or the subject of their passions and humours? No ! they are exalted for the good of their fellow creatures, in order to raise them to the truest sublimity, to become as like divinity as a mortal creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great treasures and authority, when they see it is all employed to make their people happy. None will envy their greatness, when they see it accompanied with a suitable greatness of soul, whereas a magnified and flattered pageant will soon fall under universal contempt and hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that princes are made for the people, and not the people for them ; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven, that is more entirely possessed with this notion of princes, than
665 the English nation is in this age ; so that they will

soon be uneasy to a prince, who does not govern himself by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great care ought to be taken in the nomination of judges and bishops. I join these together; for law and religion, justice and piety, are the support of nations, and give strength and security to governments: judges must be recommended by those in the high posts of the law; but a prince may, by his own taste, and upon knowledge, choose his bishops. They ought to be men eminent for piety, learning, discretion, and zeal; not broken with age, which will quickly render them incapable of serving the church to any good purpose: a person fit to be a bishop at sixty, was fit at forty, and had then spirit and activity, with a strength both of body and mind. The vast expense they are at in entering on their bishoprics ought to be regulated: no bishoprics can be, in any good degree, served under 1000*l.* a year at least. The judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no temptation to supply themselves by indirect ways: one part of a prince's care, to be recommended to judges in their circuits, is to know what persons are, as it were, hid in the nation, that are fit for employments, and deserve to be encouraged; of such, they ought to give an account to the lord chancellor, who ought to lay it before the throne. No crime ought to be pardoned, till the judge who gave sentence is heard, to give an account of the evidence, with the circumstances of the fact, as it appeared on the trial: no regard ought to be had to stories that are told to move compassion; for in these, little regard is had

to truth : and an easiness in pardoning is in some sort an encouraging of crimes, and a giving license to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehensive rule of all is, that a king should consider himself as exalted by Almighty God into that high dignity, as into a capacity of doing much good, and of being a great blessing to mankind, and in some sort a God on earth ; and therefore, as he expects that his ministers should study to advance his service, his interests, and his glory, and that so much the more, as he raises them to higher posts of favour and honour ; so he, whom God has raised to the greatest exaltation this world is capable of, should apply himself wholly to cares becoming his rank and station, to be in himself a pattern of virtue and true religion, to promote justice, to relieve and revenge the oppressed, and to seek out men of virtue and piety, and bring them into such degrees of confidence as they may be capable of ; to encourage a due and a generous freedom in their advices, to be ready to see his own errors, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing that is suggested to him for the good of his people, and for the benefit of mankind ; and to make a difference between those who court his favour for their own ends, who study to flatter, and by that to please him, often to his own ruin, and those who have great views and noble aims, who set him on to pursue designs worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any ends or interests of their own. It is not enough for a prince, not to encourage vice or impiety by his own ill practices ;

it ought to appear, that these are odious to him, and that they give him horror^q: a declaration of this kind, solemnly made and steadily pursued, would soon bring on at least an exterior reformation, which would have a great effect on the body of the nation, and on the rising generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at first. Such a prince would be perhaps too great a blessing to a wicked world: queen Mary seemed to have the seeds of all this in her; but the world was not worthy of her: and so God took her from it.

I will conclude this whole address to posterity with that which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing else along with it; which is, to recommend, in the most solemn and serious manner, the study and practice of religion to all sorts of men, as that which is both *the light of the world*, and *the salt of the earth*. Nothing does so open our faculties, and compose and direct the whole man, as an inward sense of God, of his authority over us, of the laws he has set us, of his eye ever upon us, of his hearing our prayers, assisting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or punish us in another state, according to what we do in this: nothing will give a man such a detestation of sin, and such a sense of the goodness of God, and of our obligations to holiness, as a right understanding and a firm belief of the Christian religion: nothing can give a man so calm a peace within, and such a

An exhortation to all to become truly religious.

^q (So was the debauchery of Henry Marten treated by Charles the first; but Marten never forgave the king for it.

Much of what precedes, is but *sciamachy*, irrelevant to the present order of things.)

firm security against all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wise Providence, and of a future state. An integrity of heart gives a man a courage and a confidence that cannot be shaken : a man is sure that by living according to the rules of religion, he becomes the wisest, the best, and happiest creature that he is capable of being : honest industry, the employing his time well, and a constant sobriety, an undefiled purity and chastity, with a quiet serenity, are the best preservers of life and health : so that, take a man as a single individual, 667 religion is his guard, his perfection, his beauty, and his glory : this will make him *the light of the world*, shining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

Then take a man as a piece of mankind, as a citizen of the world, or of any particular state, religion is indeed then *the salt of the earth* : for it makes every man to be to all the rest of the world, whatsoever any one can with reason wish or desire him to be. He is true, just, honest, and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others that which he would have others do to him : he is a lover of mankind and of his country : he may and ought to love some more than others ; but he has an extent of love to all, of pity and compassion, not only to the poorest, but to the worst ; for the worse any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency and delight in all that are truly, though but defectively good, and a respect and veneration for all that are eminently so : he mourns for the sins, and rejoices in the virtues of all that are round about him. In every relation of life, religion makes him answer all his obligations : it will make princes

just and good, faithful to their promises, and lovers of their people: it will inspire subjects with respect, submission, obedience, and zeal for their prince: it will sanctify wedlock to be a state of Christian friendship and mutual assistance: it will give parents the truest love to their children, with a proper care of their education: it will command the returns of gratitude and obedience from children: it will teach masters to be gentle and careful of their servants, and servants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their masters' concerns: it will make friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful, and disinterested: it will make men live in their neighbourhood as members of one common body, promoting first the general good of the whole, and then the good of every particular, as far as a man's sphere can go: it will make judges and magistrates just and patient, hating covetousness, and maintaining peace and order, without respect of persons: it will make people live in so inoffensive a manner, that it will be easy to maintain justice, whilst men are not disposed to give disturbance to those about them. This will make bishops and pastors faithful to their trust, tender to their people, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the people an esteem for their persons and their functions.

Thus religion, if truly received and sincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all blessings to a nation: but by religion I understand somewhat 668 more than the receiving some doctrines, though ever so true, or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without zeal and eagerness. What signify the best doctrines, if men do not live suitably

to them; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and their lives? Men of bad lives, with sound opinions, are self-condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt; nor will the heat of a party, arising out of interest, and managed with fury and violence, compensate for the ill lives of such false pretenders to zeal; while they are a disgrace to that which they profess, and seem so hot for. By religion, I do not mean an outward compliance with form and customs, in going to church, to prayers, to sermons, and to sacraments, with an external shew of devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good thoughts, in which many may satisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to subdue and rectify their appetites, passions, and secret designs. Those customary performances, how good and useful soever, when well understood and rightly directed, are of little value when men rest on them, and think that, because they do them, they have therefore acquitted themselves of their duty, though they continue still proud, covetous, full of deceit, envy, and malice: even secret prayer, the most effectual of all other means, is designed for a higher end, which is, to possess our minds with such a constant and present sense of divine truths, as may make these live in us, and govern us, and may draw down such assistances as may exalt and sanctify our natures.

So that by religion, I mean such a sense of divine truth as enters into a man, and becomes a spring of a new nature within him; reforming his thoughts and designs, purifying his heart, and sanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words

as well as his actions ; convincing him, that it is not enough not to be scandalously vicious, or to be innocent in his conversation, but that he must be entirely, uniformly, and constantly pure and virtuous, animating him with a zeal to be still better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, using prayers and all outward devotions, as solemn acts testifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as methods instituted by God, to be still advancing in the use of them further and further into a more refined and spiritual sense of divine matters. This is true religion, which is the perfection of human nature, and the joy and delight of every one that feels it active and strong within him : it is true, this is not arrived at all at once ; and it will have an un-669 happy allay, hanging long even about a good man ; but, as those ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his soul, so it is his chief care to watch over and to mortify them ; he will be in a continual progress, still gaining ground upon himself ; and, as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, because I have felt this the true, and indeed the only joy which runs through a man's heart and life : it is that which has been for many years my greatest support ; I rejoice daily in it ; I feel from it the earnest of that supreme joy which I pant and long for ; I am sure there is nothing else can afford any true or complete happiness. I have, considering my sphere, seen a great deal of all that is most shining and tempting in this world : the pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate ; intrigues of state, and the conduct of affairs, have something in them that is more spe-

cious ; and I was for some years deeply immersed in these, but still with hopes of reforming the world, and of making mankind wiser and better : but I have found, *that which is crooked cannot be made straight*. I acquainted myself with knowledge and learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compass than depth : but though *wisdom excelleth folly as much as light does darkness*, yet as it is a *sore travail*, so it is so very defective, that what is *wanting* to complete it *cannot be numbered*. I have seen that *two were better than one*, and that a *three-fold cord is not easily loosed* ; and have therefore cultivated friendship with much zeal, and a disinterested tenderness ; but I have found this was also vanity and vexation of spirit, though it be of the best and noblest sort. So that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on the preacher's text, *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity* : but I must also conclude with him ; *Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the all of man*, the whole both of his duty and of his happiness. I do therefore end all in the words of David, of the truth of which, upon great experience and a long observation, I am so fully assured, that I leave these as my last words to posterity : *Come, ye children, hearken unto me : I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good ? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good ; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry. The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth.*

The righteous cry, and the Lord heareth, and delivereth them out of all their troubles. The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit^m.

N. B. This was written in June 1708, when the author thought himself near the end of the history. ORIG. EDITOR.

^m This conclusion is wrote with a spirit of moderation and integrity that could not have been expected from the author of the precedent history, to which it has little or no relation: and had he never published any thing besides this, and his History of the Reformation, he might have pass-

ed hereafter as a good, as well as a learned man; but he was so intoxicated with party zeal and fury, that he never scrupled saying or doing any thing that he thought could promote the ends of a party, to which he had so entirely devoted himself. D.

THE
LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY THE EDITOR,
THOMAS BURNET, Esq. ^a

IT were to be wished, that the author himself had lived to have completed his whole design, and as he made Thuanus his pattern in history, like him to have closed his work with an account of his own life: that he intended so to have done, is evident, both from his last will, and from a rough draught or imperfect sketch of this nature, left behind him. He acted so considerable a part in the world, in so many different stations; he met with so large a share of favour from some, and so much censure from others; and in a life where the scenes were so various, there must be so many occurrences, which will be both useful and entertaining; that I feared the public would scarce forgive me, as an editor, if I should not endeavour to supply this only part of 672 the author's plan, which he himself did not live to execute. Though the producing authorities for the several facts asserted in the following sheets, might perhaps have exempted a writer from future cavils;

^a A rude violent party jack-anapes. S. (He was the author amongst other pamphlets, of one entitled *Necessity of impeaching the late Ministry.*)

yet the inserting vouchers for every particular^b would have rendered a work of this nature both dry and tedious : I have only done it where the matter related seemed very essential, and the original papers themselves might prove an agreeable entertainment. I have carefully avoided repeating all those parts of the author's life which are already related in the History of his Own Time: they are only transiently mentioned here, so as to continue the thread of my narration, and the reader is referred, for farther information, to the history itself.

The au-
thor's birth
and parent-
age.

Our author, Dr. GILBERT BURNET, was born at Edinburgh on the eighteenth day of September, in the year 1643. His father was the younger brother of a family, very considerable for its antiquity as well as interest, in the shire of Aberdeen ; and was bred to the civil law, which he studied for seven years in France. His excessive modesty so far depressed his abilities, that he never made a shining figure at the bar, though he was universally esteemed a man of judgment and knowledge in his profession; he was eminent for probity and generosity in his practice; insomuch that near one half of it went in acts of charity and friendship: from the poor he never took a fee, nor from a clergyman, when he sued in the right of his church. In the year 1637, when the troubles in Scotland were breaking out, he was so disgusted at the conduct of the governing bishops there, he censured them with so much

^b Those facts for which no voucher is alleged, are taken from the bishop's manuscript notes of his own life ; and can

be further supported by other testimonies, if occasion should require. AUTHOR.

warmth, and was, at the same time, so remarkable for his strict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan: but when he saw, that instead of reforming abuses in the episcopal order, the order itself was struck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and constancy; as he did to the rights of the crown, without once complying with that party which afterwards prevailed in both nations. For though he agreed with Barclay and Grotius, (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted,) as to their notions of resistance, where the laws are broke through by a limited sovereign, yet he did not think that was then the case in Scotland.

Our author's mother was very eminent for her piety and virtue; she was a warm zealot for the presbyterian discipline; her education that way had been very strict; she was sister to the famous sir Archibald Johnstoun, called lord Warristoun, who, 673 during the civil wars, was at the head of the presbyterians, and was too often hurried away, by his attachment to them, into excesses that were not suitable to his natural temper, which was just, generous, and self-denying; insomuch that he left behind him but a very small provision for a family of thirteen children, though for many years he had been entrusted with the whole government of Scotland. He was so zealous in the interests of his party, that neither friendship nor alliance could dispose him to shew favour to those who refused the solemn league and covenant. Our author's father therefore, persisting in this refusal, at three several times was obliged to quit the kingdom, and at one of them to remain an exile for five years: and when his return

was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the law, much less to accept of the preferments in it, offered him by Oliver Cromwell, he lived retired in the country upon his own estate, till the restoration; when he was made one of the lords of the session.

His education.

His father's retirement from business proved a considerable advantage to our author's education, which was wholly under his care, and so managed by him, that at ten years old his son was master of the Latin tongue: he was sent at that age to the college of Aberdeen, where he perfected himself in Greek, and went through the common methods of the Aristotelian logic and philosophy with applause; he commenced master of arts before he was fourteen, and then applied himself to the law, much to the regret of his father, who had always designed him for a clergyman. He continued studying the civil and feudal law for above a year, by which he laid in such true notions of society and government, as are seldom found amongst divines; he then changed his resolution, and determined wholly to dedicate himself to the church: thereupon he pursued a very hard course of study; he went through the Old and New Testament, with all the several commentaries upon the different parts of it, then in repute; he examined into the most noted authors in controversy, and read Bellarmine and Chamier, in opposition to each other, quite through; he perused some of the most received systems of school-divinity, but was soon disgusted at the subtilty of those writers, and readily observed, how little all their disputes, which the jargon of the schools rendered endless, could tend towards making men wiser or

better. In the hours of amusement, he ran through many volumes of history: and it is scarce conceivable, what a progress he had made in these studies, before he was eighteen, by an application which seldom fell short of fourteen hours in a day. 674

At that age, he was put upon his trial, as a probationer or expectant preacher; who, after having passed examination, is at liberty to preach wheresoever he is desired, but has no particular church to which he is attendant. This is the first step in Scotland towards an admission into orders, and was practised both under the episcopal and presbyterian economy. The method observed in it has something so different from what is customary in England, that it may perhaps be worthy the reader's notice. These probationers are first appointed to preach practically on a text assigned them; next, critically upon another, the sense of which is controverted; and then a mixed sermon, of criticism on the text, and practical inferences from it, is expected from them. After this, the examiners allot a head of divinity to each, on which they are to make a Latin oration, and to give out theses upon it, which they undertake to defend in public: then a Hebrew psalm and a portion of the Greek Testament is given them, to render into English extempore; and last of all comes the questionary trial, in which every minister of the district is at liberty to put such questions to the person under examination, as occur to him, out of the scripture or body of divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he must produce a testimonial of his good life from the minister of the parish where he lives; and if, during his trial, which lasts for three

He is admitted as a probationer.

months, any scandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aside as unfit for the church.

Refuses a presentation to a living.

This probation our author went through, at the age of eighteen; about which time his father was made a lord of the session, and his cousin-german, sir Alexander Burnet, gave him the presentation to a very good benefice, where his family resided, and which lay in the centre of all his kindred. There is no law in Scotland, that limits the age a minister must be of; but our author thought his own so unfit for a cure of souls, that he absolutely refused to accept of it, notwithstanding the repeated importunities of all his relations, except his father, who left him wholly to his own discretion.

His father's death, and his further pursuit of his studies.

In the year 1661 his father died; and soon after, his brother Robert, who was then become very eminent at the bar, as his other brother Thomas was afterwards in physic: upon the occasion of his brother's death, our author was much solicited by his mother's relations, to return to his former study of the law, wherein he was assured of the greatest encouragement; but he persisted in his former resolution of
675 devoting his life to the service of the church, in which he was confirmed by Mr. Nairn, minister of the abbey church at Edinburgh. Mr. Nairn was then the admired preacher of that country, remarkable for accuracy of style, as well as strength of reasoning and sublimeness of thought: him our author purposed to make his pattern in this branch of the pastoral office; and was not a little surprised to find, that he always preached extempore. For though all sermons in Scotland were delivered without book, yet were they premeditated discourses, first written and

then learned by heart; which was a loss of time Mr. Nairn could not submit to, and he soon put our author upon attempting the same method of preaching; which he continued to practise all the rest of his life^c. He attained to an easiness in it, chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to meditation upon all sorts of subjects, and by accustoming himself, at those times, to speak his thoughts aloud, studying always to render his expression correct. Mr. Nairn led him likewise into a new course of reading, by recommending to his perusal Smith's Select Discourses, Dr. More's Works, and the writings of Plato and his followers; but no book pleased him more than Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, from the principles of which he never departed.

In the year 1662, the Scotch bishops, who had been consecrated at Westminster, made a pompous entry into Edinburgh, and, by the pride of their first appearance, gave no good omen of their future conduct. Bishop Leightoun, though one of their number, would have no share of the state they took upon

^c I shall only mention two remarkable instances in relation to his preaching without book. In 1691, when the sees, vacant by the deprivation of the non-juring bishops, were filled up, bishop Williams was appointed to preach one of the consecration sermons at Bow-church. But being detained by some accident, the clerk had twice set the psalm, and still the preacher did not appear. Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury desired Dr. Burnet, then bishop of Sarum, to supply his place, which he did; and, as the archbishop declared, gave them the

best sermon he ever heard him preach. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the thanksgiving sermon before the queen at St. Paul's; and as it was the only discourse he had ever wrote beforehand, so this was the only time that he was ever at a pause in preaching, which on that occasion lasted for above a minute. These two incidents were so publicly known and spoke of, that I think it needless to allege any particular authority for them, unless they should be questioned. AUTHOR.

them on this occasion: he soon became acquainted with our author's growing fame, and as he conceived a great affection for him, he took a peculiar pleasure in overlooking his studies. By his advice he became conversant with all the primitive writers, going through the apologies and other treatises of the fathers of the three first centuries, and Binnius's Collection of Councils, down to the second council of Nice.

At the same time our author contracted an intimacy with another eminent divine, Mr. Charteris, a man of great prudence, joined to an unaffected simplicity of behaviour: he was not only very knowing
676 in his own profession, but was likewise a great master of history, both ancient and modern, of geography and books of travels, and not a little skilled in mathematical learning. These three persons, by their conversation and advice, contributed towards finishing an education, which had been so happily begun. And indeed, what might not be expected from such early helps, where nature had laid in materials so fit to be wrought upon? For there was a robust constitution, capable of the hardest labour and study, an apprehension that took things quickly, and a memory that retained them long, an imagination rather too lively, and a natural fluency of expression.

His journey
to England.

In the year 1663 our author took a short tour into England: he first visited the two universities: at Cambridge, he had an opportunity to know and admire the extensive learning of Dr. Cudworth, the judgment and moderation of Dr. Pearson, the fine luxuriant imagination of Dr. Burnet, (author of the Theory,) and the free-thinking of Dr. Henry More, one of whose sayings, with relation to rites and ce-

remonies, then made great impression on him; *None of these*, said he, *are bad enough to make men bad, and I am sure none of them are good enough to make men good.* At Oxford our author was much caressed, on account of his ready knowledge of the councils and fathers, especially by Dr. Fell, and Dr. Pocock, that great master of oriental learning; he was much improved there in his mathematics and philosophy by the instructions of Dr. Wallis, who likewise gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr. Boyle at London. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the most noted divines, such as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whitchcot and Wilkins, whose characters are faithfully drawn by him in the History. But no conversation proved a greater advantage to him, than that of sir Robert Murray, not only as he brought him into the best company, but as he also acted the part of a faithful monitor, in reproving him for any errors or indiscretions his youth might betray him into. After a stay in England of about six months, which, being spent in the manner I have mentioned, could not but be highly useful, he returned to Scotland, where he was again pressed to enter into orders, and accept of one of the best benefices in the west.

Sir Robert Fletcher, of Saltoun, who, during his stay at Paris, had received many obligations from his father, hearing so great a character of the son, invited him down to his seat, and had no sooner heard him preach, than he offered him that church, the minister of it being nominated to one of the vacant bishoprics. Our author would have excused him-^{Delays accepting a good benefice.} 677 self, as having determined for some months to travel

beyond sea ; and solicited the living for his friend Mr. Nairn : but sir Robert would admit of no denial ; and as the present incumbent was not to be consecrated immediately, resolved to keep the benefice vacant, till his return from his travels.

His travels
into Hol-
land and
France.

It was in the year 1664, that our author went over to Holland ; where, after he had seen what was remarkable in the seven provinces, he fixed his residence at Amsterdam. There, by the help of a learned rabbi, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language ; he likewise became acquainted with the leading men of the different persuasions tolerated in that country ; as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, and the Papists : amongst each of whom, he used frequently to declare, he had met with men of such real piety and virtue, that there he became fixed in that strong principle of universal charity, and of thinking well of those that differed from him, as likewise in an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of religious dissensions, which hath often drawn upon him the bitterest censures from those who, perhaps by a narrower education, were led into a narrower way of thinking.

From Holland he passed through the Netherlands into France ; he remained for some time at Paris, and conversed often with the two famous ministers of Charenton, Daillé and Morus ; the one renowned for his learning and judgment, the other for his bright parts and eloquence. He thought there entered too much of the gesture of the theatre into Morus's delivery ; his sermons were full of fire and of turns, which, being out of the common road, at once surprised and pleased his audience ; but when

these flights, which passed current in a pathetic discourse, came to be coolly considered, they would hardly bear the test: so that, as our author found in him much that deserved imitation, there was still more that required correction. His stay in France was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindness with which he was treated by the lord Holles, then ambassador at the French court. Towards the end of the year he returned to Scotland through London, where he was introduced by the president, sir Robert Murray, to be a member of the royal society.

Soon after his arrival at Edinburgh, sir Robert Fletcher came thither, and carried him down to Saltoun, giving him the presentation to that church; but he declined taking it absolutely at first, and resolved to continue there four months, performing all the functions of a minister, without engaging himself to the parish, till he should have the joint request of all the parishioners; which he afterwards had, without one single exception: and thereupon he was ordained a priest by the bishop of Edinburgh in the year 1665. During the five years he remained at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the weekdays; he catechised three times a week, so as to examine every parishioner, old or young, thrice over in the compass of a year; he went round his parish, from house to house, instructing, reproofing, or comforting them, as occasion required; those that were sick, he visited twice a day; he administered the sacrament four times a year, and personally instructed all such as gave notice they intended to receive it; all that remained above his own necessary subsistence, (in

Is settled as
minister at
Saltoun,
and his con-
duct there.

678

which he was very frugal,) he gave away in charity. A particular instance of his generosity that way, a person^d (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his service at Salisbury) used to recount: one of his parishioners had been in execution for debt, and came to our author for some small relief, who inquired of him, how much would again set him up in his trade; the man named the sum, and he as readily called to his servant to pay it him. "Sir," said he, "it is all we have in the house." "Well, well," said our author, "pay it this poor man; you do not know the pleasure there is in making a man glad." Thus, as he knew the concerns of his whole parish, as he treated them with tenderness and care, and as he set them a fair example of every article of that duty which he taught them, he had soon gained the affections of them all, not excepting the presbyterians; though he was then the only man in Scotland, that made use of the prayers in the liturgy of the church of England.

As his studies were chiefly bent upon the pastoral care, in which he endeavoured to instruct himself from the best writers, concerning the constitution of the primitive church, during the three first centuries, among whom St. Cyprian was the chief; he observed, that the bishops who governed in Scotland, though they derived the strongest arguments for their order from these very books, yet neglected all the rules prescribed in them. He therefore drew up a memorial of their abuses, of which some relation is given in the History, as likewise of the harsh

^d This was a story commonly well known at Salisbury, and which the editor learned from

Mr. Wastefield, a gentleman now living there. AUTHOR.

treatment he met with upon that occasion. However, as this step had made some noise, and might be imputed to ambition, or a desire of becoming popular, he resolved to live in a more retired manner 679 than he had done hitherto; and abstracting himself from all mixed company, confining himself wholly to study, and the duties of his function, he entered into such an ascetic course as had well nigh put an end to his life: for his bad diet, joined to hard study, had so corrupted the mass of his blood, that in two successive fevers he was given over by the physicians.

In the year 1668, as the government of Scotland, Much consulted by the ministry in Scotland. both in church and state, was put into the hands of moderate men, among whom sir Robert Murray was a principal leader, our author was frequently sent for and consulted by them; he was afterwards employed as one of the chief managers for the church, in negotiating the scheme of an accommodation between the episcopal and presbyterian parties; of which a full account is given in the History. He was, upon that occasion, introduced to the duchess of Hamilton; who, though her inclinations lay toward presbytery, professed herself a friend to moderate counsels. By her he was invited, the year following, to Hamilton, where he contracted an acquaintance with the regent of the university of Glasgow, who conceived such an esteem for him, that, their chair of divinity being vacant, he proposed our author as the person most proper to fill it; and he recommended this in so effectual a manner, that in a few days after, he brought over to Hamilton the decree of the university, electing him Is made professor of divinity at Glasgow. their professor. As this matter had been wholly

transacted without his knowledge, so was he, for some time, in suspense what resolution to take; his friends were all earnest in persuading him to accept of it, his parishioners at Saltoun, for whom he had a most tender regard, were no less anxious to retain him: at length the authority of archbishop Leighton prevailed, and he removed to Glasgow in the year 1669, where he continued four years and a half, in no small exercise of his patience. The presbyterian zealots hated him, as apprehending that his schemes of moderation would in the end prove the sure way of establishing episcopacy amongst them: the episcopal party, on the other hand, could not endure a man who was for exempting the dissenters from their prosecutions.

His conduct
in that sta-
tion.

As his principal care, in this new station, was to form just and true notions in the students of divinity, he laid down a plan for that purpose, to which no other objection could be offered, but that it seemed to require the labour of four or five, instead of one man; yet he never failed executing every part of it, during his residence at Glasgow. On Mondays he made each of the students, in his turn, explain a head of divinity in Latin, and pro-
680 pound such theses from it, as he was to defend against the rest of the scholars; and this exercise concluded with our author's decision of the point, in a Latin oration. On Tuesdays he gave them a prelection in the same language, wherein he purposed, in the course of eight years, to have gone through a complete system of divinity. On Wednesdays he read them a lecture, for above an hour, by way of a critical commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, which he finished before he quitted the chair. On Thurs-

days the exercise was alternate; one Thursday he expounded a Hebrew psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar, and the English version; and the next Thursday, he explained some portion of the ritual and constitution of the primitive church, making the apostolical canons his text, and reducing every article of practice under the head of one or other of those canons. On Fridays he made each of his scholars, in course, preach a short sermon upon some text he assigned; and when it was ended, he observed upon any thing that was defective or amiss, shewing how the text ought to have been opened and applied. This was the labour of the mornings; in the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them some parcel of scripture, on which he made a short discourse, and when that was over, he examined into the progress of their several studies, encouraging them to propose their difficulties to him, upon the subjects they were then reading. This he performed, during the whole time the schools were open; thereby answering the duty of a professor with the assiduity of a schoolmaster: and in order to acquit himself with credit, he was obliged to study hard from four till ten in the morning; the rest of the day being of necessity allotted, either to the use of his pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the clergy; who, finding he had an interest with the men in power, were not sparing in their applications to him.

In times of vacation, our author made frequent visits to Hamilton; and was easily engaged by the duchess to undertake the task of examining and putting in order all the papers that related to her father's and her uncle's ministry: she had kept these

He undertakes to write the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

carefully together, but had not hitherto found a person whom she thought safe to be intrusted with the perusal of them ; yet now she had so entire a confidence in him, that she put them all into his hands. The earl (afterwards duke) of Lauderdale no sooner heard that he was compiling Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, than he wrote to Scotland, earnestly pressing him to come up to court, in order to receive such informations from himself, concerning the transactions of those times, as he was able to furnish. Our author thereupon went to London, where
 681 he was received by the earl of Lauderdale with such marks of confidence, as made it evident, that, had he pursued the common methods of cultivating an interest, he might have raised himself to a great fortune : but as he was a constant enemy to all those artifices of a court whereby men usually rise, so was he naturally of too frank a spirit to bear with the earl's imperious temper. All the use therefore he made of his freedom of access, was in negotiating and concluding a reconciliation between him and duke Hamilton ; who had assignations given him on the revenues of the crown, in satisfaction of those pretensions of which our author had found authentic vouchers among the papers intrusted to his care ; and the duke, in return, promised to concur with the measures of the court in the ensuing parliament. Four bishoprics in Scotland becoming vacant at this time, our author was offered his choice of them ; but he declined accepting a station for which he thought his years were unfit, in which he foresaw he should be much entangled, and in all probability would be capable of doing little good.

Here refuses a
 bishopric in
 Scotland.

Soon after his return to Glasgow, he married the

lady Margaret Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of His marriage with the lady Margaret Kennedy.
 Cassilis, who lived in great intimacy and friendship with the duchess of Hamilton: she was a lady of distinguished piety and knowledge; her own sentiments inclined strongly towards the presbyterians, with whom she was in high credit and esteem; yet was she far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of some of their leaders. As there was some disparity in their ages, that it might remain without dispute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition; the day before their marriage, our author delivered the lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretension to her fortune, which was very considerable, and must otherwise have fallen into his hands, she herself having no intention to secure it.

In the year 1672, duke Lauderdale was sent down, as the king's commissioner, to hold a parliament in Scotland, and our author was considered as the person who had the greatest influence over him; which was wholly employed in doing good offices to needy suitors, and in preventing a breach between him and duke Hamilton; for which he was much exclaimed at, by the party then opposing the court, who could have no hopes of prevailing, unless the latter would put himself at their head. About this time, he published his Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland; wherein he strongly maintained the cause of episcopacy, and the illegality of resistance, merely 682 on account of religion. This was thought, in that Again refuses a bishopric, with the promise of
 juncture, such a public service, that he was again
 courted to accept of a bishopric, with the promise of

the next
archbishop-
ric.

His favour
at court.

the next archbishopric that should be void ; but he still persisted in his refusal.

In 1673, he was obliged to take another journey to London, in order to obtain a license for publishing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*; he went likewise with a full design to break off from further meddling in matters of state: he saw that popery was at bottom the prevailing interest at court, and that the sacramental test, whereby the duke of York, the lord Clifford, and other papists in employment had been excluded, was a mere artifice of king Charles, to obtain money for carrying on the war that summer with Holland. He suspected that the designs of the court were both corrupt and desperate; he therefore used all the freedom he decently could with the duke and duchess of Lauderdale; he pointed out to them the errors of their management in Scotland, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themselves and upon the whole nation: and when he saw no disposition to rectify their measures, he rejected all offers of preferment made to himself; though he could not decline being sworn one of the king's chaplains, which, as it was a post of no profit, so it was conferred upon him at his majesty's express nomination, upon having heard him preach. As duke Lauderdale's enemies were soon informed of the frankness with which he had remonstrated to his grace, against the methods of administration he was then pursuing, and as they knew his friendship and attachment to the Hamilton family, they industriously magnified his credit in Scotland to such a degree, that his majesty often sent for him in private, and the duke of York much

oftener. He made no other use of the high favour shewn him by the latter, than first to introduce Dr. Stillingfleet to him, and afterwards to propose a conference, to be held in his royal highness's presence, between them two and the chief of the Romish priests; though there was little reason at that time to hope that any arguments would be able to effect the duke's conversion, and the very proposal of such a dispute was in a great measure renouncing all pretensions to preferment. He likewise sought no other advantage from the great freedom with which the king received him, than only to awaken in that prince a sense of religion, and to rouse him from that lethargy of vice and indolence, in which his natural great talents seemed wholly buried. This is so much the reverse of the conduct of aspiring clergymen, it lies so directly out of the road to power, riches, or dignity, that I hope it may acquit him 683 from all imputation of ambition.

As soon as the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton were licensed by Mr. Secretary Coventry; which His breach with duke Lauderdale. was the longer delayed, because the king and many of the ministers were desirous to read them in manuscript, our author returned to Scotland: and on his arrival at Edinburgh, finding the animosity between the dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale risen to a height not to be composed, he retired to his station at Glasgow, and refused to stir from thence all that winter. This, joined to the jealousy the favour shewn him at London had raised, drew upon him a storm, which pursued him for many years after with the utmost violence. The measures of the court proving unsuccessful in parliament, duke Lauderdale threw the load of his own miscarriage

upon our author, whom he represented as the cause and instrument, under hand, of all the opposition he had met with. This accusation made it incumbent on him once more to return to court, in the year 1674. The king received him coldly, and ordered his name to be struck out of the list of chaplains; yet, at the duke of York's entreaty, he admitted him to offer what he thought proper in his own justification: he thereupon gave his majesty so clear and satisfactory an account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his assertions to duke Hamilton, that in the end the king seemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to Glasgow. But the duke of York dissuaded him from returning thither, till his peace should be entirely made; for he assured him, that otherwise he would be clapped up in prison, and detained there perhaps as long as the same interest prevailed at court; his royal highness likewise used his utmost endeavours to have reconciled him with duke Lauderdale; but that he found impracticable: the latter insisting, that our author should abandon his best friends, and discover all the secrets he had hitherto been in; and the other as firmly persisting in his adherence to those who had shewn him friendship, or reposed a confidence in him.

Is forced to
quit his
professor-
ship at
Glasgow.

Thus it became necessary, either, by going back to Scotland, to put himself in the power of enemies, who were not likely to treat him with any regard to justice or his own innocence, or else to resign his professor's chair, and settle in England. He chose the latter, if it may be called a choice; and sought an establishment in London: in which he met with all the opposition the ministry could give him; par-

ticularly in one church (as he himself relates it in the history) where the electors were disposed to 684 have chosen him, had they not been deterred by a very severe message in the king's name. Though the being thus in a manner turned adrift, could not at the time but seem a misfortune, yet he ever spoke of it as the happiest event of his life. He was but thirty years old, and though the charms of ambition had not that influence over him which is usual at those years; yet he thought it a signal blessing, that any accident had disentangled him from the snares of so corrupt a court, in whose service he had been so far engaged, that he could not otherwise have been easily delivered from them.

The situation he was now in might surely have ^{Refuses a good benefice at London.} excused his embracing the first provision that offered; yet he could not be tempted by it to overlook the nicest punctilios of justice or honour; resolved rather to suffer the utmost personal difficulties, than purchase preferment at the least expense of his character. He therefore generously declined accepting the living of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, which about this time was vacant^e; it was in the gift of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, who had expressed some inclination to bestow it upon Dr. Fowler, (afterwards bishop of Gloucester,) but being made acquainted with the circumstances of our author, and the hardships he had undergone, they sent him an offer of the benefice: he thanked them for the

^e This fact Mr. Mackney, a gentleman now living at Salisbury, assured me he had from the bishop's own mouth. And the same was confirmed to me

by the reverend Mr. John Craig, who lived with Dr. Burnet at the time when it happened.
AUTHOR.

Is made
chaplain at
the Rolls,
and lecturer
at St. Clement's.

favour, but said, that as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon so worthy a divine, he did not think himself at liberty to take it. After this, in the year 1675, he was recommended by the lord Holles to the friendship of Sir Harbottle Grimston, master of the rolls, by whom he was appointed preacher to the chapel there: and though the court sent first a bishop, and then Mr. Secretary Williamson, to persuade sir Harbottle to dismiss him, as one highly unacceptable to the king, yet he persisted in the nomination he had made. By this means, our author obtained a settlement in London, in which he continued above nine years; he was soon after chosen a lecturer at St. Clement's, and grew to be one of the most followed preachers in town. His sermons had not in them the studied phrases, or the rounded periods, which were then too much in vogue; but there was a force in his reasoning, a warmth in his expression, and a dignity in his manner, joined to a gracefulness in his person, which commanded attention^f; and as the heart always spoke in him, so it seldom failed of speaking to the hearts of his audience.

Writes the
History of
the Reformation.

685 As the apprehensions of popery grew daily stronger, the most eminent divines of the church of England signalized themselves in the Romish controversy: nothing of that kind was more taken notice of, than the Account our author printed, in the year 1676, of a Conference, which himself and Dr. Stillingfleet were engaged in with Coleman, and the principal of the Romish priests: this made him con-

^f I have heard him preach, note before, at p. 596, vol. I. and he was the finest figure in the pulpit I ever saw. O. (See afterwards note at p. 721, vol. II.)

sidered as one who stood in the very front of the opposition to popery. His reputation, upon that account, was soon after raised to the highest pitch, by that great performance, the History of the Reformation; in which, as he took a method wholly new, so was it universally applauded. The first volume lay near a year after it was finished, for the perusal and correction of friends; so that it was not published till the year 1679, when the affair of the popish plot was in agitation. This book procured our author an honour, never before or since paid to any writer; he had the thanks of both houses of parliament, with a desire that he would prosecute his undertaking, and complete that valuable work. Accordingly, in less than two years after, he printed the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first: and such was his readiness in composing, that he wrote the historical part in the compass of six weeks, after all his materials were laid in order.

As our author, though he had at this time no parochial cure, refused not his attendance to any sick person who desired it, he was sent for, amongst others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal amour with Wilmot earl of Rochester: the manner he treated her in, during her illness, gave that lord a great curiosity of being acquainted with him: whereupon, for a whole winter, in a conversation of at least one evening in a week, he went over all those topics with him, upon which scepticks and men of loose morals are wont to attack the Christian religion. The effect this had, first in convincing that earl's judgment, and afterwards in making him a sincere penitent, is so fully related in the account

His conversion of Wilmot earl of Rochester.

of it published in 1681^g, that it will be needless to add any thing here upon that subject ^h.

Refuses the
bishopric
of Chiches-
ter.

During a great part of the time, when the inquiry into the popish plot was on foot, our author was frequently sent for by king Charles, and consulted by him as to the state of the nation : his majesty made him an offer of the bishopric of Chichester, then vacant, provided he would *entirely come into his interests*. He answered, “ that he did not know
“ what might be meant by that expression ; and he
“ was unwilling to suffer any one even to deceive
“ themselves by what he should say. He knew the
686 “ oaths he was to take on such an occasion ; these
“ he would religiously observe ; and desired to be

^g (“ A book,” writes Johnson,
“ which the critic ought to read
“ for its elegance, the philoso-
“ pher for its arguments, and
“ the saint for its piety.” *Lives
of the Poets*, in the Life of
Rochester.)

^h The editor here subjoins a letter from that lord, before his death ; the original of which is in his hands.

“ Woodstock Park, 25 June, 1680.

“ My most honoured Dr.

“ Burnet,

“ My spirits and body decay so equally together, that
“ I shall write you a letter as
“ weak as I am in person. I
“ begin to value churchmen
“ above all men in the world,
“ and you above all the church-
“ men I know in it. If God
“ be yet pleased to spare me
“ longer in this world, I hope
“ in your conversation to be
“ exalted to that degree of

“ piety, that the world may see
“ how much I abhor what I so
“ long loved, and how much I
“ glory in repentance, in God’s
“ service. Bestow your pray-
“ ers upon me, that God would
“ spare my life, if it be his
“ good will, to shew a true re-
“ pentance and amendment of
“ life for the time to come. Or
“ else, if the Lord pleaseth to
“ put an end to my worldly be-
“ ing now, that he would mer-
“ cifully accept of my death-
“ bed repentance, and perform
“ that promise he hath been
“ pleased to make, that at what
“ time soever a sinner doth re-
“ pent, he would receive him.
“ Put up these prayers, most
“ dear doctor, to Almighty God,
“ for

“ Your most obedient and
“ languishing servant,
“ ROCHESTER.”

AUTHOR.

“excused from any further engagements, or general promises, which were liable to different constructions.” But if his free access to the king did not procure him that preferment, which very few with the same opportunities would have missed; it engaged him to write his majesty such a letter, as may perhaps offend the delicacy of some, yet in justice to his memory ought not to be suppressed.

“May it please your majesty^h, 29 January, 1678.

“I have not presumed to trouble your majesty^{His letter to the king.} for some months, not having any thing worthy your time to offer; and now I choose rather this way, since the infinite duty I owe you puts me under restraints in discourse, which I cannot so easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your majesty, I do it as in the presence of Almighty God, to whom I know I must give an account of all my actions: I therefore beg you will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful zeal of your poor subject, who has no other design in it, than your good, and the discharge of his own conscience.

“I must then first assure your majesty, I never discovered any thing like a design of raising rebellion, among all those with whom I converse; but I shall add, on the other hand, that most people grow sullen, and are highly dissatisfied with you, and distrustful of you. Formerly your ministers, or his royal highness, bore the blame of

^h The original of this letter is now in the editor's hand, wrote by the bishop, with a memorandum how it was delivered, and when: and how it was received. AUTHOR.

“ things that were ungrateful; but now it falls upon
“ yourself, and time, which cures most other dis-
“ tempers, increases this. Your last speech makes
“ many think, it will be easy to fetch up petitions
“ from all parts of England: this is now under con-
“ sultation, and is not yet determined; but I find
“ so many inclined to promote them, that, as far as
“ I can judge, it will go that way. If your majesty
“ calls a new parliament, it is believed, that those
“ who have promoted the petitions will be generally
“ elected; for the inferior sort of people are much
“ set upon them, and make their judgment of men
“ from their behaviour in that matter. The soberer
“ sort of those who are ill pleased at your conduct,
“ reckon that either the state of your affairs beyond
“ sea, or of your exchequer at home, will ere long
“ necessitate your meeting your parliament; and
“ that then things must be rectified: and therefore
“ they use their utmost endeavours to keep all quiet.
687 “ If your majesty has a session in April, for support-
“ ing your allies, I find it is resolved by many, that
“ the money necessary to maintain your alliances
“ shall be put into the hands of commissioners, to
“ issue it as they shall answer to the two houses:
“ and these will be so chosen, that, as it is likely
“ that the persons will be very unacceptable to you,
“ so they being trusted with the money, will be as
“ a council of state, to control all your councils.
“ And as to your exchequer, I do not find any in-
“ clination to consider your necessity, unless many
“ things be done to put them into another disposi-
“ tion, than I can observe in them. The things that
“ will be demanded, will not be of so easy a di-

“gestion, as that I can imagine you will ever be
“brought to them, or indeed that it will be reason-
“able or honourable for you to grant them. So
“that, in this disorder of affairs, it is easy to pro-
“pose difficulties, but not so easy to find out that
“which may remove them.

“There is one thing, and indeed the only thing,
“in which all honest men agree, as that which can
“easily extricate you out of all your troubles; it is
“not the change of a minister or of a council, a
“new alliance, or a session of parliament, but it is
“ (and suffer me, sir, to speak it with a more than
“ordinary earnestness) a change in your own heart,
“and in your course of life. And now, sir, if you
“do not with indignation throw this paper from
“you, permit me (with all the humility of a subject
“prostrate at your feet) to tell you, that all the dis-
“trust your people have of you, all the necessities
“you now are under, all the indignation of Heaven
“that is upon you, and appears in the defeating all
“your counsels, flow from this, that you have not
“feared nor served God, but have given yourself up
“to so many sinful pleasures. Your majesty may
“perhaps justly think, that many of those that op-
“pose you have no regard for religion, but the body
“of your people consider it more than you can ima-
“gine. I do not desire your majesty to put on a
“hypocritical shew of religion, as Henry the third
“of France did, hoping thereby to have weathered
“the storms of those times. No! that would be
“soon seen through, and as it would provoke God
“more, so it would increase jealousies. No, sir, it
“must be real, and the evidences of it signal: all
“those about you who are the occasions of sin,

“ chiefly the women, must be removed, and your
 “ court be reformed. Sir, if you will turn you to
 “ religion sincerely and seriously, you shall quickly
 “ find a serene joy of another nature possess your
 “ mind, than what arises from gross pleasures : God
 “ would be at peace with you, and direct and bless
 “ all your counsels ; all good men would presently
 “ turn to you, and ill men would be ashamed, and
 688 “ have a thin party. For I speak it knowingly,
 “ there is nothing has so alienated the body of
 “ your people from you, as what they have heard of
 “ your life, which disposes them to give an easy be-
 “ lief to all other scandalous reports ⁱ.

“ Sir, this counsel is now almost as necessary for
 “ your affairs as it is for your soul ; and though you
 “ have highly offended that God, who has been in-
 “ finitely merciful to you, in preserving you at
 “ Worcester fight, and during your long exile, and
 “ who brought you back so miraculously, yet he is
 “ still good and gracious ; and will, upon your sin-
 “ cere repentance and change of life, pardon all
 “ your sins, and receive you into his favour. Oh ! sir,
 “ what if you should die in the midst of all your
 “ sins ? At the great tribunal, where you must ap-
 “ pear, there will be no regard to the crown you
 “ now wear ; but it will aggravate your punishment,
 “ that, being in so eminent a station, you have so
 “ much dishonoured God. Sir, I hope you be-
 “ lieve there is a God, and a life to come, and that
 “ sin shall not pass unpunished. If your majesty

ⁱ King Charles was wise enough to know that his father's exemplary life was no protection against the slanders and designs of republican and presbyterian zealots. Had they an angel to govern them, sedition and treason would never be quiet. *Cole's MS. note.*

“ will reflect upon your having now been twenty
“ years upon the throne, and in all that time how
“ little you have glorified God, how much you have
“ provoked him, and that your ill example has
“ drawn so many after you to sin, that men are not
“ now ashamed of their vices, you cannot but think,
“ that God is offended with you: and if you con-
“ sider, how ill your counsels at home, and your
“ wars abroad have succeeded, and how much you
“ have lost the hearts of your people, you may rea-
“ sonably conclude this is of God, who will not turn
“ away his anger from you, till you turn to him
“ with your whole heart.

“ I am no enthusiast, either in opinion or temper;
“ yet I acknowledge, I have been so pressed in my
“ mind to make this address to you, that I could
“ have no ease till I did it: and since you were
“ pleased to direct me to send you, through Mr.
“ Chiffinch’s hands, such informations as I thought
“ fit to convey to you, I hope your majesty will not
“ be offended, if I have made this use of that liberty.
“ I am sure I can have no other design in it but
“ your good; for I know very well, this is not the
“ method to serve any ends of my own. I therefore
“ throw myself at your feet, and once more, in the
“ name of God, whose servant I am, do most hum-
“ bly beseech your majesty, to consider of what I
“ have written, and not to despise it for the mean-
“ ness of the person who has sent it; but to apply
“ yourself to religion in earnest: and I dare assure
“ you of many blessings both temporal and spiritual
“ in this life, and of eternal glory in the life to
“ come: but if you will go on in your sins, the 689
“ judgments of God will probably pursue you in this

“ life, so that you may be a proverb to after-ages ;
 “ and after this life, you will be for ever miserable ;
 “ and I, your poor subject that now am, shall be a
 “ witness against you in the great day, that I gave
 “ you this free and faithful warning.

“ Sir, no person alive knows that I have written
 “ to you to this purpose ; and I chose this evening,
 “ hoping that your exercise to-morrow may put you
 “ into a disposition to weigh it more carefully. I
 “ hope your majesty will not be offended with this
 “ sincere expression of my duty to you ; for I durst
 “ not have ventured on it, if I had not thought my-
 “ self bound to it, both by the duty I owe to God
 “ and that which will ever oblige me to be,

“ May it please your majesty, &c.”

This is the letter, of which some mention is made in page 507 of the first volume of the History, as likewise of the effect it produced : it conveys to the reader a much stronger idea of the author’s character, than any description can give ; and I presume, it will scarce be thought a step which any clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at preferment than the strict discharge of his duty ^k.

^k The bishop had too much cunning to publish this letter himself ; it plainly appearing by the first part, that he had promised to be a spy ; and the conveyance by trusty Will. Chiffinch, who was closet keeper, and the manager of all secret intrigues, even those with the ladies, puts it out of any manner of dispute. The rest was as plainly wrote to break off any further correspondence

with the king, who, if he had not been the best natured man, as well as prince, that ever lived, would have had such insolence answered with a cudgel : but it seems, by Tom Burnet’s account, and the bishop’s own, that the party he was then engaged with thought it proper he should keep up his correspondence with the duke of York, the use of which is very visible. D. (A passage in the

The unprejudiced part our author acted, during the whole time that the nation was inflamed with the discovery of the popish plot; his candid endeavours to have saved the lives of Staley and the lord Stafford, both zealous papists; his temperate conduct in regard to the exclusion of the duke of York, and the scheme of a prince regent, proposed by him, in lieu of that exclusion; are all sufficiently related in the History: this only may be farther observed, that his behaviour in this critical juncture was so impartial as to displease both the court and the country party; which, when animosities run high, will always be the fate of those few who follow the dictates of their own judgment and conscience, without entering into the concerted measures of any one set of men. A character as valuable as it is rare.

In 1682, when the administration was wholly changed in favour of the duke of York, the courtiers thought themselves at liberty to rail at our author; as if his writings and sermons against popery had been only calculated to facilitate the project of the exclusion. Yet so little did the court regard the reflections which were thrown upon him, that it being likely the mastership of the Temple would be soon vacant, the earls of Halifax and Clarendon obtained the king's promise of it for him: upon which he was again sent for by his majesty, and received with peculiar marks of favour and kindness. But these

His firm adherence to his friends.

bishop's own History, to be seen in p. 437, vol. I. according to the pages of the folio edit. but omitted by his original editors, seems to place the letter in the same light, as it is viewed by the lord Dartmouth.

The king, we find by our author's account at p. 507, read it over twice, and then threw it into the fire. It is added, that he spoke not long afterwards of Burnet with asperity.)

were soon withdrawn, and he himself waved the promise made him, when he found it was expected he should break off correspondence with some of his best friends. And as, during the debates concerning the exclusion, he had lost all his interest with lord Shaftesbury and the country party, on account of his intimacy with the earl of Halifax, and his endeavours to justify, or at least excuse the earl's conduct in that affair; so now he chose rather to sacrifice all the advantages he might reap from that lord's great power at court, than to abandon the society of the earl of Essex, the lord Russel, and sir William Jones. As he was at this time much resorted to by persons of all ranks and parties, in order to avoid the necessity of returning visits, he built a laboratory, and for above a year went through a course of chemical experiments; which, as it served to enlarge his philosophical notions, and was in itself as useful as well as an innocent amusement, so it furnished him with a proper excuse for staying much at home. The earl (soon after created marquis) of Halifax complains of this retirement, in a letter which I shall here insert.

“ SIR ¹,

October 16, 1682.

“ Though I was tender in advising you to wave
“ any thing you might think advantageous for you,
“ yet since you have thought fit to do it, I am at
“ liberty to approve it: and I only desire you will
“ not make too hasty resolutions concerning your-
“ self, and not be carried so far by the sudden mo-
“ tions of a self-denying generosity, as to shut the
“ door against those advantages which you may ex-

¹ The original letter is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

"pect with justice, and may receive without inde-
 "cency. Only a little patience is requisite, and in
 "the mean time no greater restraint upon your be-
 "haviour and conversation, than every prudent man,
 "under your character and circumstances, would
 "choose voluntarily to impose on himself. For
 "what concerns me, or any part I might have in
 "endeavouring to serve you, I had rather you
 "should hear it from any body than from myself;
 "and though you should never hear it from any
 "body, I expect from your justice you should sup-
 "pose it. Your withdrawing yourself from your
 "old friends, on this corrupted side of the town,
 "is that which I can neither approve for my own
 "sake, nor for yours: for, besides many other ob-
 "jections, such a total separation will make you
 "by degrees think less equally, both of men and
 "things, than you have hitherto professed to do, in 691
 "what relates to the public. I have no jealousies
 "of this kind for myself in particular, being re-
 "solved, at what distance soever, to deserve your
 "believing me unalterably

"Your faithful humble servant,

"HALIFAX."

Not long after this, a living worth three hundred pounds a-year, which was in the gift of the earl of Essex, becoming void, he offered the presentation to our author, upon condition he would promise still to reside in London; adding, "that in the present posture of affairs, his friends could not permit him to be absent from the town." He thereupon told the earl, "that in case he was presented to a cure of souls, he must think himself under such

Refuses a
 living on
 the terms
 of not re-
 siding there.

“ an obligation to residence, as no other considerations could dispense with.” And for this reason the benefice was given to another.

How he
avoided be-
ing involv-
ed in any
plots.

In the year 1683, when the Rye plot broke out, and the earl of Essex and lord Russel were taken into custody, all who knew his long and strict friendship with those great men, concluded that he would have been involved in the same accusation. But as it had been his constant principle, that resistance was not lawful on account of single acts of injustice or oppression, unless the very basis of the constitution was struck at ; so, in order to avoid being drawn into secrets he could not approve, he had declared to all those he conversed with, that till he should be convinced that resistance was warrantable, he should think it his duty to disclose all consultations which he was made privy to, tending to that end. By this declaration, his most intimate friends, when they entered into cabals of this nature, were sufficiently warned against communicating their designs to him. And this now proved his security.

His behaviour at the trial of the lord Russel ; his attendance on him in prison, and afterwards upon the scaffold at the time of his execution ; the examination he underwent before the council, in relation to that lord's dying speech, and the boldness with which he there undertook to vindicate his memory ; as also the indignation the court expressed against him upon that occasion, are all fully set forth in the History. Thither I must likewise refer the reader, for an account of the short tour our author took to Paris, and of the unusual civilities there shewn him by the king of France's express direction. His friends at court would indeed have per-

suaded him to a longer stay there; they apprehended great severities were preparing for him at home, which they represented in the strongest light: but neither their entreaties nor the menaces of his enemies could prevent his returning to London. He said, "that as he was conscious of no crime which could be truly laid to his charge, so he would not alarm himself with the continual apprehension of what false witnesses might invent against him: that how fatal soever his return might prove, he could not think himself at liberty to be absent from the duties of his function." This objection was indeed soon after removed; for he was that very year discharged from his lecture at St. Clement's, in pursuance of the king's mandate to Dr. Hascard, rector of that parish: and in December 1684, by an extraordinary order from the lord keeper North to sir Harbottle Grimston, he was forbid preaching any more in the chapel at the Rolls.

Is dismissed from his lecture, and from the Rolls.

Thus at the time of king Charles's death he was happily disengaged from all those ties, which might have rendered his stay in England any part of his duty. Upon king James's accession to the crown therefore, he desired his leave to go out of the kingdom; which the marquis of Halifax easily obtained, the court regarding him as one whom they had no prospect of gaining, and whom it was their interest therefore to keep out of the way. He first went to Paris, where he lived in great retirement, in order to avoid being involved in any of the conspiracies which the duke of Monmouth's friends were then forming in his favour. When that rebellion was at an end, having contracted an acquaintance with

His travels beyond sea.

brigadier Stoupepe ^m, a protestant officer then in the French service, he was prevailed upon to take a journey with him into Italy; though many of his friends thought it a bold venture, considering how remarkably he had signalized himself in the controversy with the Romish church. But as he was not himself of a constitution very subject to fear, so the advice of the lord Mountague, who was then at Paris, encouraged him to embrace this opportunity of seeing Rome.

The relation of these travels is so amply given in the Letters our author published in the year 1687, that there will be no occasion to add any thing here concerning them; except as to one particular, which may serve as a proof, both of the great regard paid him abroad, and of his own uniform zeal for toleration. He was much caressed and esteemed by the principal men of Geneva; he saw they insisted strongly upon their *consent of doctrine* ⁿ, which they required all those to subscribe who were admitted into orders. He therefore employed all the elo-
 693 quence he was master of, and all the credit he had acquired amongst them, to obtain an alteration in this practice: he represented to them the folly and ill consequence of such subscriptions; whereby the honestest and worthiest men were frequently reduced to the necessity of quitting their native country, and seeking a subsistence elsewhere; whilst others of less virtue were induced to submit, and comply against their conscience, and even begin their ministry with mental equivocations. The

^m (The bishop speaks of this person frequently in his relation of the reign of Charles II.)

ⁿ This is a formulary commonly known by the name of the *consensus*. AUTHOR.

warmth with which he expressed himself on this head was such, and such was the weight of his character, that the clergy at Geneva were afterwards released from these subscriptions, and only left subject to punishment or censure, in case of writing or preaching against the established doctrine.

After a tour through the southern parts of France, then under persecution upon the repeal of the edict of Nantes, through Italy, Switzerland, and many places of Germany, our author came to Utrecht in the year 1686, with an intention to have settled in some quiet retreat within the seven provinces: but at his arrival there, he found letters from some of the principal ministers of state at the Hague, entreating him to fix upon no settlement, till he should have seen the prince and princess of Orange. When he was first admitted to an audience of them, he perceived that his friends in England, especially the marquis of Halifax and the lady Russel, had given him such a character, as not only insured him a most gracious reception, but soon after procured him an entire confidence. When he was made acquainted with the secret of their counsels, he advised the putting the fleet of Holland immediately into such order as might give courage to their friends in Great Britain, in case matters there should come to extremities; he prevailed upon both their highnesses to write a letter to king James, in favour of the bishop of London, who was then under suspension; he ventured to propose to the princess, the explaining herself upon that nice but necessary point, of the share the prince was to expect in the government, in case the British crown should devolve on her; and when it was determined to send over Mr. Dyck-

Is well received by the prince and princess of Orange.

velt, as ambassador to England, our author was employed to draw his secret instructions, of which the rough draught is still extant in his own hand.

King James insists on his being forbid that court.

The high favour now shewn him at the Hague alarmed king James, who was much incensed against him, for the account he had printed of his travels ; in which he had so strongly displayed the miseries those nations groan under, where popery and arbitrary power prevail, that it seemed to have a sensible effect on the people of England. The king 694 wrote two severe letters against him to the princess of Orange ; and when the marquis d'Albeville was sent envoy to Holland, he had orders to enter upon no other matter of treaty, till our author was first forbid the court there ; which, at his importunity, was done : but he continued to be trusted and employed in the same manner as before ; Halewyn, Fagel, and the rest of the Dutch ministers consulting him daily.

Is prosecuted in Scotland and in England for high treason.

The report, that he was then on the point of marrying a considerable fortune at the Hague, having reached the English court, in hopes to divert this, a prosecution of high treason was set on foot against him in Scotland. Before notice of this prosecution came to the States, he had been naturalized in order to his marriage : when therefore he undertook, in a letter to the earl of Middletoun, to answer all the matters laid to his charge, he added, *that being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance during his stay there was transferred from his majesty to the States.* This expression was immediately laid hold of : so that dropping the former prosecution, they now proceeded against him for *these words*, as guilty of high treason ; and a sen-

tence of outlawry passed upon him. D'Albeville thereupon first demanded him to be delivered up; and when he saw this demand was like to prove ineffectual, he insisted that he should be banished the seven provinces, in pursuance of an article in the last treaty between the two nations, which related to rebels and fugitives, though it could not be pretended that he came within either of these descriptions. The States, in their answer to the British envoy's memorial, said, "that as Dr. Bur-

The States refuse to deliver him up.

"net, by naturalization, was become a subject of their own, they could not banish him, unless some crime was legally proved upon him; if his British majesty had any thing to lay to his charge, they would compel him to answer it; and if his judges pronounced him guilty, they would punish him according to their laws; this was all that in reason or justice could be demanded of them." As this answer put an end to all farther application to the States, so it gave occasion to some unwarrantable designs of seizing his person, and even destroying him, if he could not be taken. Of this our au-

Designs to seize upon him.

thor had notice given him from several hands, and one in particular, by the following letter from captain Baxter, a gentleman of unquestioned honour and reputation, whose father was at that time steward to the duke of Ormond's estate.

"DEAR SIR °, "Hague, the 14th of March, 1688. 695

"Though I have no acquaintance with you, yet the esteem I have for your character, and the be-

° This letter is in the editor's hands, with the bishop's own memorandum how he came to the knowledge of the person who wrote it, and of his character. AUTHOR.

“nefit I have received by your works, obliges me
 “to tell you the proceedings against you in Eng-
 “land. I happened the other day to go into the
 “secretary’s office, where I saw an order for three
 “thousand pound, to be paid the person that shall
 “destroy you. I could hardly believe my eyes that
 “I saw the paper, it seemed so strange to me: this
 “I communicated in private to my lord Ossory, who
 “told me it was true, for he had it from prince
 “George. My lord desired me to be private in the
 “thing till I came to Holland; and then, if I pleased,
 “to tell you of it. Sir, I am your friend, and my
 “advice to you is, to take an especial care of your-
 “self, for no doubt but that great sum will meet
 “with a mercenary hand. Sir, you shall never want
 “a friend where I am.——”

His mar-
 riage to
 Mrs. Scott.

Some months before this, our author had married Mrs. Mary Scott, a Dutch lady, of a large fortune and noble extraction. Her ancestor, on the father’s side, was a younger brother of the family of Buccleugh, who, upon a quarrel in Scotland, went over to Holland; his son was a brigadier-general at the siege of Middleburgh, in the year 1574, and afterwards deputy for the province of Zealand, in the assembly of the states-general; his grandson, Apollonius Scott, who was this lady’s grandfather, was president of the high court of justice at the Hague, and by marriage allied to the noblest houses in Zealand: on the mother’s side, who was a De Ruyter, she was related to the principal families in Guelder. With these advantages of birth, she had those of an extremely agreeable person; she was well skilled in all sorts of music; drew and painted in great perfection; she spoke Dutch, English, and French

equally well; she had a fine understanding, and a sweetness of temper that charmed all her acquaintance; her knowledge in matters of religion was such, as might rather be expected from a student in divinity, than from a lady. In her, our author, during the whole course of her life, found a religious, discreet, and loving friend, a dutiful wife, a prudent mistress of his family, a careful manager of his affairs, and a tender mother of his children ^P.

The important share our author had in the whole conduct of the revolution; his seasonable counsels in every step of that great affair; the early notice he gave of it to the court of Hanover, intimating that the success of this enterprise must naturally end in an entail of the British crown upon that illustrious house; the unreserved confidence reposed in him, both by the prince of Orange, and by the malecontents in England; the assistance he gave in drawing that prince's declaration, and the other public papers written to justify the undertaking; his courage in bearing a share in the hazard of that expedition, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances of danger he was in; the association proposed and drawn by him at Exeter; the good offices he endeavoured to do king James, while detained at Feversham in the hands of a rude multitude; the care he took to protect the papists and Jacobites from the insults of the army and populace, when the Dutch troops arrived at London; his faithful adherence to the interests of the princess of Orange, in the affair of the settlement of the crown: these, as well as the other signal services our author rendered his coun-

His conduct at the revolution.
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^P (All the bishop's children were by this lady, after whose death, he married Mrs. Berkeley.)

try, when the abdication of king James made it requisite to establish a new government, are too fully related in the History to need any farther mention here.

Declines
the offer of
the bi-
shopric of
Durham.

Dr. Crew, then bishop of Durham, had acted such a part in the high commission in king James's reign, that he thought it would be no ill composition, if he could indemnify his person at the expense of his spiritual preferment, which he purposed to resign to our author, trusting to his generosity for an allowance of a thousand pounds a year out of the episcopal revenue during his life : he sent the lord Mountague with this proposal to the prince of Orange : but when the message was carried to our author, he absolutely refused to accept of the see upon those terms, which he thought might justly be construed criminal ^q. He was indeed so little anxious after his own preferment, that when the bishopric of Salisbury became void, as it did soon after king William and queen Mary were established on the throne, he solicited for it in favour of his old friend Dr. Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph : the king answered him in a cold way, *that he had another person in view* ; and the next day he himself was nominated to that see.

When the famous bill for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, was brought into the house of lords, as our author had first intimated to the house of Hanover the probability of a limitation in their favour, king William, in preference to all his ministers,

^q This is taken from the bishop's MS. notes ; and is confirmed by a letter from one who was secretary of state in king William's reign. AUTHOR.

appointed him to be the person that should propose the naming the duchess (afterwards electress) of Brunswick next in succession after the princess of Denmark and her issue. Though this settlement did not then take effect, otherwise than as it seemed implied in the exclusion of all papists, and was not explicitly established till after the duke of Gloucester's death in 1701, (when our author had the farther merit of being chairman of the committee to whom the bill was referred,) yet it made that illustrious house from thenceforth consider him as one firmly attached to their interests, and with whom they might therefore enter into the strictest confidence. Accordingly, from that time, her late royal highness the princess Sophia began a correspondence with him, which lasted to her death, and of which above fifty letters are extant, all written in her own hand. Two of these I shall here insert: the one written in 1689, soon after the proposal of naming her in the act of succession had been made; the other in 1701, when that nomination took effect.

His services to, and his correspondence with the house of Hanover.

“ MONSIEUR ^r,

“ Comme j'ai toujours eu une estime tres particuliere, pour le merite de votre reverence, et que j'ai cru la connoitre par ses ecrits, V. R. pourra aisement juger par la, combien les marques de votre amitié m'ont été agreables. Je vous assure, que je les estime tres particulierement, et que je suis fort reconnoissante de la ferveur, qu'il vous a plû temoigner pour mes interests, ce qui est une aussi grande satisfaction pour ma personne, que si vos bonnes intentions eussent mieux réussi. Car je ne

^r The original letter is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

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U

698 “ suis plus d’une age à penser à d’autre royaume,
 “ que celui des cieux ; et pour mes fils, ils doivent
 “ toujours estre dediez au roy et au royaume. Mon-
 “ sieur Schutz m’a mandé que V. R. estoit persuadé,
 “ que sa majesté auroit pour agreable, que j’en fis
 “ voir un en Angleterre ; et comme mon second fils
 “ m’avoit deja mandé, qu’il seroit bien aise d’aller,
 “ apres la campagne, pour feliciter le roi, sur son
 “ avenement à la couronne, et qu’il en demanderoit
 “ la permission à l’empereur, dont il est major-ge-
 “ neral ; j’ose prier V. R. de l’assister de vos conseils,
 “ pour bien faire sa cour, lors qu’il fera ce voyage.
 “ S’il eut voulu changer de religion, il auroit fort
 “ bien reüssi dans ces affaires aupres de l’empereur,
 “ mais il a trop de son oncle, le prince Rupert, pour
 “ n’estre pas ferme dans sa religion. Il est vray
 “ qu’elle porte le nom de Luthere, mais nos eccle-
 “ siastiques d’Hanovre la disent conforme à la reli-
 “ gion Anglicane, et auroient voulu me donner le
 “ saint sacrement, dans la crayance où je suis. Mais
 “ je n’ai pas voulu donner de scandale à ceux de ma
 “ religion, dont je crois que V. R. approuvera. Ce-
 “ pendant je dois la feliciter, qu’il a plu à Dieu de
 “ vous donner un roi et une reine d’un merite infini :
 “ je le prie de vous les conserver, et de donner à
 “ moi la satisfaction, de temoigner à vous, et à tout
 “ ce qui vous est cher, par des services agreables,
 “ combien je suis

“ Tres affectionnée à vous servir,
 “ SOPHIE PALATINE.”

“ MY LORD,

“ As I ever had a most particular esteem for your
 “ merit, and have fancied myself acquainted with

“ you by your writings, you may easily judge by
“ that, how agreeable the marks you have given me
“ of your friendship must have been. I assure you,
“ I esteem them in a very particular manner, and
“ am very grateful for the warmth you have been
“ pleased to testify for my interests, which is as
“ great a personal satisfaction to me, as if your good
“ intentions had been more successful. For I am no
“ longer of an age to think of any other kingdom
“ than that of heaven; and as for my sons, they
“ ought always to be devoted to the king and king-
“ dom. Mr. Schutz has informed me, that you were
“ of opinion, that his majesty would be pleased if I
“ sent one of them into England; and as my second
“ son had already acquainted me, that he should be
“ glad to go, after the campaign, to congratulate the
“ king upon his accession to the crown, and that he
“ would ask the emperor’s leave for it, being a
“ major-general in his service; I dare beg you to
“ assist him with your advice, how to make his
“ court well, when he takes that journey. If he
“ would have changed his religion, he might have
“ succeeded well in his affairs at the imperial court,
“ but he has too much of his uncle, prince Rupert,
“ not to be firm in his religion. It is true, it bears
“ the name of Luther, but our divines at Hanover
“ say, it is conformable to that of the church of
“ England, and would have given me the holy sa-
“ crament in the belief I am in. But I would not
“ give any scandal to those of my religion, which I
“ believe you will approve. However, I ought to
“ congratulate you, upon its having pleased God to
“ give you a king and a queen of infinite merit: I
“ pray him to preserve them to you, and to give me

“ the satisfaction of testifying to you, and every one
 “ that is dear to you, by agreeable services, how
 “ much I am

“ Most affectionate to serve you,
 “ SOPHIA PALATINE.”

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“ Herenhausen, 22 Juin, 1701.

“ Vous avez bien de la bonté, monsieur, de prendre part à tout ce qui regarde la grandeur de la maison, où je suis entrée : et je dois vous remercier en particulier de l'affection, que vous m'avez témoigné, dans l'affaire de la succession, qui exclut en meme temps tous les heritiers catholiques, qui ont toujours causé tant de desordres en Angleterre. Je suis par malheur trop vieille, pour pouvoir ja- mais etre utile à la nation et à mes amis, ce qui me feroit pourtant beaucoup aimer la vie. Cependant je souhaiterois, que ceux qui viendront apres moi, se rendissent dignes de l'honneur, qu'ils auront : et que je puisse au moins trouver lieu de vous témoigner, par des services, l'estime que j'ai de votre merite.

“ SOPHIE ELECTRICE.”

“ Herenhausen, 22 June, 1701.

“ You are very obliging, my lord, to take part in every thing that regards the grandeur of the house into which I am married ; and I ought to thank you in particular, for the affection which you have testified to me in the affair of the succession, which excludes at the same time all catholic heirs, who have always caused so many disorders in England. I am unfortunately too old, ever to be useful to the nation, and to my friends, which if I could be, it would make me much in love with

“ life. However, I shall wish, that those who are to
 “ come after me may render themselves worthy of
 “ the honour they will have: and that I may at
 “ least find some occasion of testifying, by my ser-
 “ vices, the esteem I have for your merit.

“ SOPHIA ELECTRESS ^s.”

Our author maintained an unshaken credit with king William and queen Mary during their whole reign; indeed the king's favour was sometimes interrupted with short disgusts at the uncourtly liberty he took of speaking his mind, even upon some subjects that he perceived were disagreeable; but the real esteem those princes had for him will appear beyond contest, from several facts in the History, too numerous to be recapitulated here, and from some others, which I shall hereafter have occasion to mention. The use he made of this credit, is the principal point a writer of his life must be concerned for: it is that alone must settle his real character, which I am satisfied has been too commonly mistaken; and never more egregiously, than by those who have represented him as an *inveterate party man* ^t. That he was stedfast to his first principles, that in all his conduct relating to the pub-

His character as to party matters.

^s The original is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR. Amongst lord Somers's papers was the copy of a letter from the princess Sophia to Mr. Stepney, then minister at Vienna; in which she expresses her apprehensions, that her own family, if they were called to the succession, might not give satisfaction, and rather recommends the making choice of the pre-

tender, who had done no injury, was young, and might receive what impressions we pleased to give him. H. (See note above, at page 271. He was thirteen years old in 1701.)

^t If he was not an inveterate party-man, no one ever was so. *Cole*. See too the duke of Argyll's remarks on the bishop, cited in the *New Biograph. Britan.* III. 35.

700 lic he was rigidly strict to these, is a truth too much to his honour for me to dispute : but it will be easy to demonstrate, that his own particular way of thinking, as to party matters, had no influence over him, either in his friendships, in his charities, or in his preferments, where the public was not immediately concerned. It might be tedious, I am sure it would be voluminous, here to insert all the evidences in my hands, from whence it appears, how frequently his whole interest was exerted in favour of men, who, neither from their public nor their private conduct, had any reason to expect such services from him ^u. Some instances of this nature I shall have occasion elsewhere to produce ; but I shall content myself here with one which is very remarkable, and may alone be sufficient to establish his reputation on this head. Some of the harshest treatment he had met with in the two former reigns had passed through the hands of the earl of Rochester ; no two men ever differed more widely in their principles, both in church and state : yet the first good offices done that earl, with the king and

^u The history mentions the share the bishop had in sir John Fenwick's trial ; this letter, of which the original is in the editor's hands, shews how ready he was to do acts of personal kindness to those whose designs he had the greatest aversion to :

“ MY LORD, “ Newgate, Jan. 20.

“ My wife has acquainted me
“ with your charitable assistance
“ yesterday, for an order
“ for bishop White to come
“ to me, for which I humbly
“ thank your lordship ; but

“ much to my trouble to day,
“ she tells me I am refused
“ him. I cannot think the king
“ would do so hard a thing to
“ a dying man, as to refuse him
“ one he can have most satisfaction
“ in, for the good of his
“ soul. Since I did not intend
“ any offence to the government
“ in asking for him, your
“ favour in procuring an order
“ for him to come to me will
“ much oblige

“ Your lordship's
“ Most humble servant,
“ J. FENWICK.”

queen, (after all other applications for introduction had failed,) their entire reconciliation to him, and the first advantages he reaped in consequence of that reconciliation, were owing to our author. And when the earl of Clarendon was afterwards unhappily engaged in the conspiracy against the government in 1690; and some hotter whigs were for the severest methods, the bishop became a hearty and successful advocate in his favour. These matters are but cursorily mentioned in the History, but will more fully appear from the four following original letters; the first written by the countess of Ranelagh, the other three by the earl of Rochester himself.

“ MY LORD ^x,

“ Your lordship knows that, by my lord Rochester’s desiring me to help him to thank you, for
 “ your forwardness to do him favours with their
 “ majesties, (out of the sense he had, that he ought
 “ to be more grateful for them, because he had not
 “ at all deserved them from your lordship,) he had
 “ informed me, that you had done him such favours;
 “ and when, pursuant to his desire, I began
 “ to give you humble thanks for him, (who is a person
 “ in whom I can be very sensibly obliged,) I
 “ told your lordship I was pleased in paying this
 “ duty, as much upon your account as upon his
 “ lordship’s, as having attempted to conquer him by
 “ weapons fit to be used by one of your profession
 “ and character; and I hoped he might be advantaged,
 “ as well by being gained by you, as by reaping
 “ good fruits of your mediation with their majesties. And now I present your lordship, in the

^x The original is in the editor’s hands. AUTHOR.

“ enclosed, with what appears to me an evidence,
“ that my hopes of his making ingenuous returns
“ for your generous advances towards a friendship
“ with him were not groundless. Since he would
“ sure never have pitched upon you, to manage an
“ application of his, about an interest wherein the
“ visible subsistence of his family is so deeply con-
“ cerned, if he did not firmly believe the reality of
“ your intentions towards him ; though he have no
“ merits of his towards you, or any thing else, but
“ your Christian beginnings towards him, to build
“ that faith upon. For can he, in my poor opinion,
“ give you a clearer proof of his being already over-
“ come by you, than in choosing you to be the per-
“ son to whom he would in such an interest be
“ obliged : since he thereby puts himself upon the
“ peril of being faithfully yours, or a very unthank-
“ ful man ; which I do so much assure myself he
“ will not be, that I humbly beg your lordship to
“ put this obligation upon him, to perfect what you
“ have already-begun to do for him of a like nature,
“ and to the same royal person, who would not, I
“ think, act unbecoming herself, nor the eminent
“ station God has placed her in, in assisting five in-
“ nocent children, who have the honour to be re-
“ lated to her royal mother, who did still, with great
“ tenderness, consider her own family, when she was
“ most raised above it ; especially when, in assisting
“ them, her majesty will need only to concern her-
“ self, to preserve a property made theirs by the
“ law of England, which, as queen of this kingdom,
“ she is obliged to maintain.

“ I send your lordship my lord Rochester’s letter
“ to me, that you may see he has thoughts that jus-

“ tify what I have said here for him, and has expressed them much better than I can do ; so that as an argument to gain your pardon for this confused scribble of mine, I present you with his good writing. I am,

“ Your lordship’s

“ humble and affectionate servant,

“ The 13th of July, 1689.”

“ K. RANELAGH.”

“ MY LORD Y,

“ The good offices your lordship has told me you have endeavoured to do me with the queen, of your own accord and generosity, incline me to be desirous to be obliged to your lordship, for the favour of presenting the enclosed petition to her majesty. Your lordship will see, by the reading 702 it, the occasion and the subject of it ; and I am sure I need not suggest any thing to your own kind thoughts, to add at the delivery of it, save only this, which I thought not proper to touch in the petition, that I have certainly as good a title in law to it, as any man has to any thing he possesses ; as likewise that the pension is appropriated to be paid out of a part of the revenue, which never was designed by any act of parliament for any public use of the government : which I think has something of weight and reason, to distinguish it from those pensions that are placed in the more public branches of the revenue.

“ I know not, whether the queen can do me any good in this affair, but I will believe her majesty cannot but wish she could ; however, I think, I should have been very wanting to my children, if

Y The original is in the editor’s hands. AUTHOR.

" I had not laid this case most humbly before her
 " majesty: lest at one time or other she herself
 " might say, I had been too negligent not in making
 " applications to her; which having now done, I
 " leave the rest, with all possible submission, to her
 " own judgment, and to the reflections that some
 " good-natured moments may incline her to make
 " towards my family. I should say a great deal to
 " your lordship, for my own confidence, in address-
 " ing all this to your lordship, some passages of my
 " life having been such as may very properly give
 " it that name: but, I think, whatever you would
 " be content to hear on that subject, will be better
 " expressed by the person who does me the honour
 " to deliver this to your lordship, from,

" My lord,

" Your lordship's most obedient servant,

" July the 13th, 1689."

" ROCHESTER."

" MY LORD ^z,

" Upon what account soever it is, that your
 " lordship is pleased to let me hear from you, I take
 " it to be something of good fortune, whatsoever ill
 " cause there may be in it too. Therefore I hum-
 " bly thank your lordship for the honour of yours of
 " the 18th from Salisbury; which was sent me to
 " this pretty place, where I love to be as much as
 " you do at your palace; and though I cannot do
 " so much good to others, as your lordship does
 " there to all that are near you, yet I do more to
 " myself than I can do any where else. *Quid sen-*
 " *tire putas, quid credis, amice, precari? Sit mihi*
 " *quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam quod*

^z The original is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

superest ævi. Forgive this transgressional rap-703
“ ture, and receive my thanks, which I pay your
“ lordship again, for your kind letter : for indeed I
“ do take it very kindly, that you were so much
“ concerned, as to give me a kind hint of that un-
“ seasonable discourse you came to be acquainted
“ with when you were last in London : I will make
“ the best use of it I can, to prevent the like for
“ the future, if I have any credit. And in the
“ mean time, I must make use of this opportunity,
“ to calm and soften your resentments towards this
“ friend of mine, as you call him in the beginning
“ of your letter. I will allow you, as a servant to
“ the king and queen, and a subject to their crown,
“ to have as great a detestation of the contrivance
“ as you can wish ; and, upon my word, I can ac-
“ company you in it. But when I consider you, as
“ once you were, a concerned friend of this lord, to
“ have a respect for his family, and particularly for
“ my father, who lost not only all the honours and
“ preferments of this world, but even the comforts
“ of it too, for the integrity and uprightness of his
“ heart ; you must forgive me, if I conjure you by
“ all that’s sacred in this generation in which we
“ live together, by the character that you bear, and
“ by the religion you profess, that you do not (as
“ much as in you lies) suffer this next heir of my
“ good father’s name and honour to go down with
“ sorrow to the grave. I would not flatter myself,
“ that your lordship should be moved with any fond-
“ ness of mine, to endeavour to bring to pass what
“ is not fit for a wise and a good man to propose ;
“ that would be to make a very ill use of your

“ friendship to me, and I would rather be corrected
“ myself in my own desires, than expose your lord-
“ ship on such an account. But I hope that they,
“ who are the supreme directors of this matter
“ under God, may in their great wisdom and good-
“ ness judge, that it may prove as much to their
“ honour and safety too, to pass over this particular,
“ as if they should pursue the strictest measures of
“ justice in it. Though I am a brother, if I did not,
“ upon the greatest reflection I can make, think I
“ should be of the same opinion if I were none,
“ I would not press this matter upon you. For I
“ cannot but think, that the queen would do, and
“ would be glad to avow it too, a very great thing
“ for the memory of that gentleman so long in his
“ grave. It is upon his account, I am begging of
“ your lordship to do all that’s possible to preserve
“ every part and branch and member of his family,
“ from the least transient stain of infamy and re-
“ proach. And if God was prevailed with by Abra-
“ ham, to have saved a whole city for the sake of
704 “ ten righteous men, I hope there may be as cha-
“ ritable an inclination, to spare the *débris* of our
“ broken family, for the sake of him who was the
“ raiser of it.

“ I ask your lordship’s pardon, for being thus im-
“ portunate; for I have great need of your help, and
“ I hope I shall have it from you. Losses of many
“ and good friends I have borne, and submitted with
“ patience to the pleasure of Almighty God: but a
“ calamity of this nature that I now deprecate, has
“ in it something so frightful, and on some accounts
“ so unnatural, that I beg you, for God’s sake, from

“ an angry man yourself, grow an advocate for me
 “ and for the family on this account. I am ever,

“ My lord,

“ Your lordship’s

“ most faithful humble servant,

“ New Park, March 21, 1688⁸†.”

“ ROCHESTER.”

“ MY LORD ^a,

“ I was warm, I confess, in the last letter I gave
 “ your lordship the trouble of, and I thank you for
 “ reproving the vehemence of my style, in your last
 “ of the 28th; I am grown cooler, and acknowledge
 “ my fault; neither did I commit it with an apprehension that your lordship was inexorable, or that
 “ it would be so much as needful to desire your assistance in that matter. But you may remember,
 “ you had used a word to me, when you were here,
 “ *an attainder*; that I acknowledge sounded very
 “ harsh to me, and when I had reflected a little
 “ more upon it, as likewise that your lordship did
 “ not use to speak by chance, and consequently that
 “ you had good ground for what you said, I own it
 “ heated me all over; which made me express my
 “ thoughts to you with more transport than was fit,
 “ and I will say no more of them, for fear of running into new excesses. What your lordship proposes for my lord Clarendon to desire, is perfectly agreeable to my mind; but I know not, whether
 “ it be not a little too early, and that such a petition might be presented with a better grace, if he
 “ were once out of the Tower upon bail, than it
 “ would be while he is under this close confinement.
 “ But as your lordship says, the affair of Mons must

^a The original letter is in the editor’s hands. AUTHOR.

“ for the present put a stop to every man’s private
“ thoughts, for that is a matter of such vast import-
“ ance to the public, that it is but very fit, that all
“ particular considerations should give way to it, and
“ wait the determination of that great point ; I can-
“ not but believe the French are masters of it before
705 “ now, because all the letters that came by the last
“ post, that I could hear of, looked upon it as a
“ thing impracticable to relieve it ; but we have had
“ no letters since Saturday. What the French will
“ do next, whether send their men into quarters for
“ two months, or try to follow their blow, is what
“ men are now most anxious about. One of my old
“ friends, with whom of late I have renewed my ac-
“ quaintance, says, upon all these mighty occasions,
“ *Prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte*
“ *premit Deus, ridetque si mortalis ultra fas tre-*
“ *pidat.* But I confess to you, I cannot be quite so
“ overcome with philosophy, as not to be concerned
“ beforehand, at what this dark night is to bring
“ forth. One private concern, in the midst of all
“ these public ones, has given me a great deal of
“ uneasiness, and I doubt not will do so to your
“ lordship, when I tell you how very ill my lady
“ Ranelagh has been these two or three days, with
“ a fever, which has almost quite destroyed her ; I
“ am afraid still for her : the last night she had a
“ little rest ; but she is so weak, and, you know, of
“ late has been so very tender, that I am in great
“ pain for her. I know your lordship will be trou-
“ bled to lose a very good friend and humble servant
“ of your own, as well as a most wonderful good per-
“ son, to all that knew her. For my own part, I
“ know nobody alive, to whom I have so many ob-

“ ligations, which I am sorry to see how little I can
 “ return, when there is most need of serving her.
 “ Amongst all her favours, one that I shall never
 “ forget was, her desire and endeavours, not only to
 “ renew for me the acquaintance I formerly had
 “ with your lordship, but to knit it closer into a
 “ friendship; in which I am always to own your
 “ lordship’s ready concurrence; and I hope I shall
 “ not fail as faithfully to perform all the part that
 “ belongs to,

“ My lord,

“ Your lordship’s

“ most faithful humble servant,

“ April the 2d, 1691.”

“ ROCHESTER.”

Hitherto the reader has viewed our author as a divine, only in the private character of a minister in his parish, a professor in his chair, or a preacher in his lecture: but we must now observe his conduct in a higher function. As soon as the session of parliament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his diocese; where he formed such a plan for executing the duties of his episcopal office, as he seldom afterwards had occasion to alter.

His primary visitation could only be regulated by the practice of his predecessors, who contented themselves with formal triennial visitations of their diocese, in which they used always to confirm; but when he perceived the hurry, the disorder and noise, that attended these public meetings, he thought them wholly unfit for solemn acts of devotion: they seemed much properer for the exercise of an ordinary’s jurisdiction according to law, than for the performance of the more Christian functions of a bishop: these were

His labours
in his dio-
cese, and
episcopal
function.

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inconsistent with that pomp and shew, which perhaps the other required. He had always looked upon *confirmation* as the likeliest means of reviving a spirit of Christianity; if men could be brought to consider it, not as a mere ceremony, but as an act whereby a man became a Christian from his own choice; since upon attaining to the use of reason, he thereby renewed for himself a vow, which others had only made for him at baptism. He wrote a short directory, containing proper rules how to prepare the youth upon such occasions; this he printed, and sent copies of it, some months beforehand, to the minister of every parish where he intended to confirm. He every summer took a tour for six weeks or two months, through some district of his bishopric, daily preaching and confirming from church to church, so as in the compass of three years (besides his formal triennial visitation) to go through all the principal livings in his diocese. The clergy near the places he passed through generally attended on him; therefore to avoid being burdensome in these circuits, he entertained them all at his own charge. He likewise for many years entered into conferences with them upon the chief heads of divinity; one of which he usually opened at their meeting, in a discourse that lasted near two hours; and then encouraged those present to start such questions or difficulties upon it as occurred to them. Four of these discourses against infidelity, Socinianism, popery, and schism, were printed in the year 1694. When our author had published his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, conferences of this nature seemed in some measure needless: he therefore discontinued them, in order to apply himself wholly to

the work of confirmation. To be more useful in it, he disposed his annual progress, during the last ten years of his life, in the following manner. He went through five or six of the considerable market-towns every year: he fixed himself for a whole week in each of them; and though he went out every morning to preach and confirm in some parish within seven or eight miles of the place, yet at the evening-prayer, for six days together, he catechised the youth of the town in the principal church there, expounding to them some portion of the Church-Catechism every day, till he had gone through the whole: and on Sunday he confirmed those who had been thus examined and instructed, and then inviting 707 them all to dine with him, he gave to each a useful present of books. As the country flocked in from all parts to hear him, he was in hopes this would encourage the clergy to catechise more, and would raise an emulation in Christian knowledge among the inferior sort of people, who were ignorant to a scandal.

In the intervals of parliament, when the bishop was not upon this progress, his usual residence was at Salisbury; there he preached the Thursday's lecture, founded at St. Thomas's church, during the whole time of his stay; he likewise preached and confirmed every Sunday morning ^b in some church of that city,

^b He was so punctual in this, that no change of weather could ever induce him to disappoint any congregation where he was expected: and this assiduity had well nigh cost him his life in the year 1698. For having appointed to preach and confirm at the parish church of

Dinton, within twelve miles of Salisbury, on a prefixed Sunday; the rains that fell on that day, and for some days before, had so swelled a brook which he was to cross, that his coach was overturned in the water, and his own life hardly saved by a miller, who jumped in, and

or of the neighbourhood round about it: and in the evening he had a lecture in his own chapel, to which great crowds resorted, wherein he explained some portion of scripture out of the gospels and epistles in the liturgy. He generally came down from London some days before Lent, on purpose to prepare the youth of the two great schools for confirmation, by catechising them every week, during that season, in the cathedral church, and instructing them in the same manner as he did those in the other towns of his diocese. And to render this task of instruction more easy to the rest of his clergy, he at length published an Explanation of the Church-Catechism in the year 1710.

The bishop's consistorial court being much cried out against, as a grievance both to the clergy and laity, he endeavoured to reform it, and for some years went thither in person; but though he might do some little good by this attendance, it was so little, that he at last gave it over; for the true foundation of complaints was the dilatory course of proceedings and the exorbitant fees; which the bishop had no authority to correct: nay, he could not even discharge poor suitors, who were oppressed there with vexatious prosecutions, any otherwise than by paying their fees himself, as he frequently did.

No part of the episcopal office was more strictly attended to by him, than the examination of those who came for orders: in this matter the law has left the bishop entirely at liberty to admit or refuse. He never turned them over to the care of a chaplain

drew the bishop out of the wa- yearly gratuity all the rest of
ter; for which seasonable ser- his life. AUTHOR.
vice our author paid him a

or archdeacon, farther than to try their skill in the learned languages. He examined them himself as to the proofs of the Christian religion, the authority 708 of the scriptures, and the nature of the gospel-covenant. If they were deficient in those, he dismissed them at once, with proper directions how to be better prepared for a second trial: but if they were competently knowing in these essential points, he went through the other heads of divinity with less strictness. When he was once satisfied with their capacity, he next directed his discourse to their conscience: he laid before them the baseness of taking up a sacred profession merely for the lucre or subsistence it might afford; he gave them a distinct view of all the branches of the pastoral care, (of which he published a treatise, for the use of his diocese, in 1692;) and endeavoured strongly to dissuade them from entering into holy orders, unless they were firmly resolved to perform all the duties of their function; more particularly to lead such lives, as might not contradict the doctrines they were to teach. A day or two before ordination, he submitted all those whom he had accepted, to the examination of the dean and prebendaries, that so he might have their approbation.

In the admission of presentees, he could not be so strict; the law having in some measure taken the judgment of their qualifications out of the ordinary; yet in this he went unusual lengths, of which I shall mention one singular instance^c. In the latter part of the reign of queen Anne, the lord chancellor pre-

^c This I had from Mr. Mack- himself, and to some others now
ney, as a fact well known to alive. AUTHOR.

sented the younger son of a noble family in Oxfordshire to a parsonage within his diocese, which was in the gift of the crown. Upon trial, our author found him so ignorant, that he refused to institute him; the ministry threatened him with a law-suit, but finding him resolute, they at length acquiesced under the refusal. Thereupon the bishop sent for the young gentleman, and told him, "that as his patrons had given up the contest, and he had no design to do him any personal injury, if he could prevail on his friends to keep the benefice vacant, he himself would undertake the charge of qualifying him for it." Accordingly he took such happy pains in his instruction, that some months after, the presentee passed examination with applause, and had institution given him to the living.

As the pastoral care, and the admitting none to it who were not duly qualified, was always uppermost in his thoughts, he concluded that he could not render a more useful service to religion, to the church, and more especially to his own diocese, than
709 by forming under his eye a number of divines well instructed in all the articles of their duty. He resolved therefore, at his own charge, to maintain a small nursery of students in divinity at Salisbury, who might follow their studies till he should be able to provide for them. They were ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a salary of thirty pounds a year: they were admitted to him once every day, to give an account of their progress in learning, to propose to him such difficulties as they met with in the course of their reading, and to hear a lecture from him upon some speculative or practical point

of divinity, or on some part of the pastoral function, which lasted above an hour: during the bishop's absence, the learned Dr. Whitby supplied his place, in overlooking and directing their studies. By this means, our author educated several young clergymen, who proved an honour to the church; but as this came to be considered as a present provision, with sure expectations of a future settlement, he was continually importuned, and sometimes imposed upon, as to the persons recommended to be of this number: and the foundation itself was so maliciously exclaimed at, as a designed affront upon the method of education at Oxford, that he was prevailed upon, after some years, to lay it wholly aside.

Our author was a warm and constant enemy to pluralities of livings; not indeed where the two churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed, for in that case he rather encouraged them, as knowing the *labourer was worthy of his hire*. But whensoever non-residence was the consequence of a plurality, he used his utmost endeavours to prevent it, and in some cases even hazarded a suspension rather than give institution. In his charges to the clergy, he exclaimed against pluralities, as a sacrilegious robbery of the revenues of the church: a remarkable effect of his zeal upon this subject may not be improper to be here related^d. In his first visitation at Salisbury, he urged the authority of St. Bernard, who being consulted by one of his followers, whether he might not accept of two benefices, replied, "And how will you be able to serve

^d This fact was told me by Mr. Wastefield, and is well known at Salisbury. AUTHOR.

“ them both ?” “ I intend,” answered the priest, “ to officiate in one of them by a deputy.” “ Will your deputy be damned for you too ?” cried the saint. “ Believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person.” This expression so affected Mr. Kelsey, a pious and worthy clergyman there present, that he immediately resigned 710 the rectory of Bemerton, worth two hundred pounds a year, which he then held with one of greater value. Nor was this Christian act of self-denial without its reward : for though their principles in church matters were very opposite, the bishop conceived such an esteem for him from this action, that he not only prevailed with the chapter to elect him a canon, but likewise made him archdeacon of Sarum, and gave him one of the best prebends in the church.

In the point of residence our author was so strict, that he never would permit his own chaplains to attend upon him after they were once preferred to a cure of souls, but obliged them to be constantly resident at their livings. Indeed he considered himself as under the same obligation, as pastor of the whole diocese, and never would be absent from it but during his necessary attendance on parliament ; from which, as soon as the principal business of the nation was despatched, he always obtained leave to depart, in order to return to his function. And though king William, upon his going over to Ireland or Flanders, always enjoined him to attend upon queen Mary, and assist her with his faithful counsel on all emergencies ; yet he would not, upon such occasions, accept of lodgings at Whitehall, but

hired a house at Windsor, in order to be within his own bishopric, and yet near enough to the court to pay his duty twice a week, or oftener, if business required it.

No principle was more deeply rooted in him than that of toleration; it was not confined to any sect or nation, it was as universal as Christianity itself: he exerted it in favour of a nonjuring meeting-house at Salisbury, which he obtained the royal permission to connive at; and when the preacher there, Dr. Beach, by a seditious and treasonable sermon, had incurred the sentence of the law, our author not only saved him from punishment, but even procured his pardon, without the terms of a public recantation, upon which it was first granted^e: as may be collected from the following letters; the one from the earl of Nottingham, then secretary of state, the other from Dr. Beach himself.

His universal principle of toleration extends to non-jurors.

“ MY LORD ^f,

“ Whitehall, 29 March, 1692.

“ I have acquainted the queen, at the cabinet council, with what your lordship writes in behalf of Dr. Beach; and though her majesty is always inclined to shew mercy, and especially to such as your lordship recommends to her favour; yet since the crime, and the scandal of it, has been very public⁷¹¹, her majesty thinks the acknowledgment of it should be so too, and therefore would have him make it in the church. When this is done, your

^e (The son of Dr. Beach, in his two letters to the author of this Life, shews that the alleged crime was not preaching a seditious and treasonable sermon, but words pretended to

have been spoken in conversation. Again, that a *noli prosequi*, and not a pardon, was obtained by his friends for him.)

^f The original is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

“ lordship’s intercession will easily prevail. I am,
 “ with great respect,

“ My Lord,
 “ Your lordship’s most humble
 “ and faithful servant,
 “ NOTTINGHAM.”

“ MY LORD ^g,

“ With all due deference of honour, and with all
 “ the respectful regard that can be correspondent
 “ to the no less generous than acceptable message,
 “ which I received from your lordship by Dr.
 “ Geddes, I humbly tender this to your lordship,
 “ hoping it may be favourably received, in lieu of
 “ my personal attendance, which shall be readily
 “ paid (as it is due) at any time. Dr. Geddes has
 “ delivered me the desirable tidings of your lord-
 “ ship’s free resolution to rescue me from *the far-*
 “ *ther prosecution* of that unhappy verdict I labour
 “ under. It is my desire, being freed from this
 “ troublesome storm, to live in peace and quiet,
 “ without disturbance of the government in general,
 “ and of any person in particular. And I cannot
 “ but deeply resent your obliging readiness to re-
 “ lieve me, because it is not clogged with any bitter
 “ conditions or reserves, that would lessen the fa-
 “ vour. What your lordship has resolved, is what I
 “ humbly desire, and do not doubt but your lordship
 “ will pursue. The sooner the favour can be ac-

^g The original of this is in the editor’s hands. AUTHOR. (The whole of this letter appears in Sinclair’s Remarks on Beach’s former Letter, p. 27. and its date shews that it was

written not after, but before the earl of Nottingham’s to the bishop. In it however the doctor professes himself obliged to bishop Burnet for his intended interposition.)

“ accomplished, and with the less noise before term,
 “ the more it will be endeared to, and challenge all
 “ gratitude from,

“ My lord,

“ Your much obliged and obedient servant,

“ WM. BEACH.”

Yet when this spirit of moderation, of which the nonjurors felt the good effects, was extended to the dissenters, our author's enemies represented him as betraying the church into their hands; though he was really taking the most effectual means to bring them over, not indeed by compulsion, but by the more Christian methods of charity and persuasion: in which he was so successful, that many dissenting families in his diocese were by him brought over to the communion of our church, in which they still continue; and of two presbyterian preachers, who were well supported when he first came to Salis-⁷¹²bury, one was soon after obliged to quit the place, and the other but poorly subsisted in it.

He perceived that the chief strength of the secta-
 ries lay in the market towns; the livings there were
 most commonly in the gift of the lord chancellor;
 and as the lord Somers, during his enjoyment of the
 seals, left the nomination to those in the diocese of
 Sarum to the bishop, he endeavoured to place in
 them none but learned, pious, and moderate divines,
 as being the best qualified to prevent the growth of
 schism. But as these benefices were generally small,
 and a poor church will be too often served by as
 poor a clerk, our author determined to obviate this
 difficulty, by bestowing upon these cures the pre-
 bends in his gift, as they became vacant; and till

His scheme
 for aug-
 menting
 poor liv-
 ings in his
 own dio-
 cese.

such a vacancy happened, out of his own income he allowed the minister of every such church a pension of twenty pounds a year^h. When the prebend itself was conferred upon him, the bishop insisted on his giving a bond to resign it, if ever he quitted the living. Though this matter had been laid before the most eminent prelates and divines of our church, as well as the most learned among the canonists, who highly approved the design; yet it was so warmly opposed by some of the clergyⁱ, that, in order to raise no farther strife in the church, our author was prevailed on to relinquish this project, and give up all the bonds he had taken. But as he could not, without the tenderest concern, behold the destitute condition of these poor benefices, most of which were attended with the largest cure of souls; so his disappointment in this scheme he had formed for his own bishopric only gave occasion to a more universal plan, which he projected for the improvement of all the small livings in England, and which was liable to no exception. This he pressed forward with so much success, that it terminated at length in an act of parliament, passed in the second year of queen Anne, *for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy*.

His scheme
for aug-
menting all
the poor
livings in
England.

He had first laid this proposal before queen Mary, who had undertaken to obtain the king's approbation and consent; after her death, the prospect of peace in 1696, and the actual conclusion of it in

^h This appears from his steward's accounts, and was confirmed to me by Mr. Wastefield.
AUTHOR.

ⁱ (Amongst those who opposed the design, was that emi-

nent canonist bishop Stillingfleet, whose letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, in answer to bishop Burnet, concerning bonds of resignation, is inserted in the edition of his works.)

1697, seemed to furnish a proper opportunity for offering the same scheme to king William, which he did by the two following memorials.

Memorial concerning the first-fruits and tenths. 713
Given in to the king in January 1696^k.

“ The tenths and first-fruits were first laid on by
 “ popes, on pretence of supporting the holy war ; in
 “ the twenty-sixth year of the reign of king Henry
 “ the eighth, these were given to the crown ; and
 “ since that time have been granted away in pen-
 “ sions, by dormant warrants. They are now in the
 “ hands of the duke of St. Alban’s, countess of Pli-
 “ mouth, countess of Bristol, earl of Bath, earl of
 “ Oxford, and a few others. This revenue may
 “ justly be called in question, as *unlawful and sacri-
 “ legious in its nature* ; the applying it to a good
 “ use is the best way to justify it.

“ The condition of many livings in this kingdom
 “ is most miserable ; many have not twenty pounds,
 “ and in some places, three of them put together do
 “ not amount to forty pounds a year. A poor cler-
 “ gyman may be scandalous, but he must be con-
 “ temptible and ignorant. To this, in a great mea-
 “ sure, we owe the atheism and impiety, the sects
 “ and divisions, that are spread over the nation.

“ It would be a noble demonstration, both of zeal
 “ for the honour of God and religion, and affection
 “ for the church of England, if the king would ap-
 “ propriate this revenue to the raising of the livings
 “ in this nation to some just proportion, beginning

^k The memorial in the bi- vered, is in the editor’s hands.
 shop’s own hand, with a me- AUTHOR.
 morandum when it was deli-

“ at those in corporations, and those within the king’s gift, but not excluding others, upon condition that the king shall have his turn in presenting, in proportion to the augmentation that shall be made by this provision.

“ A corporation might be settled, as was from the reign of queen Elizabeth down to that of Charles the first, with power to receive the gifts of charitable persons, to the same pious end : and all bishops, deans, and chapters might be obliged to pay towards it a fourth or fifth of every fine that they received.

“ This, by the blessing of God, would make the concerns of religion and of the church put on another face ; it would much raise his majesty’s name and character in the present, and in all succeeding ages ; by this the king gives away nothing that is in his own possession ; he only gives away the power of granting such new pensions as
 714 “ may be vacant in his time. And there is little doubt to be made, (besides a blessing from God, which may be expected upon so noble a design,) that this would be made up to the crown by parliament : and would also give such an impression of the king, as would have good effect on all his affairs.”

A second memorial concerning the tenths and first-fruits. Given in to the king in December 1697¹.

“ It is humbly proposed, that his majesty would

¹ The memorial in the bishop’s own hand, with a memorandum when he delivered it, is in the editor’s hands.
 AUTHOR.

“ be pleased to consider, how proper it will be at
“ this time to declare his resolution, of applying the
“ first-fruits and tenths to mending the state of the
“ poor livings in England.

“ The peace being now concluded, this will be a
“ noble beginning of his majesty’s reign in peace,
“ and a suitable return to God, for his great bless-
“ ings on his royal person and affairs; it will gain
“ him the hearts of all true friends of the church of
“ England; and since the boroughs are generally
“ the worst served, their livings being universally
“ very small, this may probably have a great effect
“ on all the king’s affairs, perhaps on the succeeding
“ elections of parliament.

“ If his majesty be resolved to do it, it is humbly
“ suggested, that he would declare his resolution in
“ the treasury, and appoint the commissioners to ac-
“ quaint the house of commons with it, who will,
“ no doubt, very quickly make it up to the crown.
“ Upon this, it is proposed, that the king will order
“ a commission for managing this fund, and making
“ it most effectual to the end intended by it.

“ The persons proper for such a commission would
“ be, the two archbishops, with two other bishops,
“ the lord chancellor, the lord privy-seal, the two
“ secretaries of state, the first commissioner of the
“ treasury, the chancellor of the exchequer, the two
“ chief justices, the chief baron, and the king’s at-
“ torney-general.”

Though this proposal was highly acceptable to the king; though it was strongly seconded by the princess of Denmark, who desired copies to be given her of the two foregoing memorials; yet underhand

it met with such opposition amongst the ministry, as for a time obstructed the execution of it. The bishop would not however be discouraged in it; but renewed his solicitations upon this head so powerfully in the year 1701, that nothing but the death of king William could have prevented its then taking effect. He had concerted his measures upon this occasion with the earl of Godolphin (who afterwards carried this design into execution) and with the lord Somers, whose letter upon that subject I shall here insert.

“ MY LORD ^m,

“ 22 Novemb. 1701.

“ I acknowledge the honour of your lordship’s letter of the 17th with great thankfulness; I wish it may lie in my power to contribute to the excellent design you propose; no man will enter into it more willingly, nor shall labour in it more heartily. The point of the first-fruits and tenths is what I have proposed several times, with much earnestness, but without success. When I have the happiness of seeing your lordship, we shall, I hope, discourse at large upon the whole subject. In the mean time allow me to assure you, that I am, with great and sincere respect,

“ My lord,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient

“ humble servant,

“ SOMERS ⁿ.”

^m The original is in the editor’s hands. AUTHOR.

ⁿ (The bishop himself has given an account of his meritorious services in the adoption of this measure, at pp. 370,

371, of the 2d vol. in folio. It appears also, that Harley, earl of Oxford, had a considerable share in it, and that he afterwards disposed the queen to extend the same favour to the

Having thus given a short account of every principal part of our author's conduct that properly relates to his episcopal character, of which I thought the reader would be best able to judge, if it were laid before him in one general view, without any strict regard to the series of time; I shall now return to the thread of my narration, by relating the other remarkable incidents of his life in the order in which they happened.

The year 1694 proved greatly unfortunate to him, I might have said to the whole nation, by the death of archbishop Tillotson, a name too well known to need any encomium; whose funeral sermon our author preached, and whose vindication he undertook against a writer who had virulently attacked his memory. This great loss to the church was soon after followed by a greater, that of the excellent queen Mary, who had always honoured our author with a high degree of favour and confidence. The strong impression her uncommon talents and shining qualities had made upon him, occasioned that essay on her character which he published in the year 1695.

During her life, the affairs and promotions in the church had wholly passed through her hands; it was an article of government for which the king thought himself unqualified, yet was unwilling to commit to the care of his ministers: upon her death, therefore, a commission was granted to the two archbishops, 716 to our author, and to three other prelates; whereby

church of Ireland. See the 25th number of the Examiner, written by Swift, who is said to have suggested the latter measure to the earl, then prime minister. Consult also his *Memoirs on the Change in the Queen's Ministry*, p. 17.)

they, or any three of them, were appointed to recommend to all bishoprics, deaneries, or other vacant preferments in the church, signifying the same to his majesty by writing under their hands: and during the king's absence beyond sea, they were empowered of their own authority to present to all benefices in the gift of the crown, that were under the value of an hundred and forty pounds a year. A like commission was granted in the year 1700, and the bishop of Salisbury continued still to be of the number. It would be tedious here to enumerate the several marks king William gave him of his friendship, during the whole course of his reign; but though he obtained of his majesty employments, pensions, and gratuities for others, even to the value of ten thousand pounds to one person now living, yet there was not one single instance wherein he solicited a favour for himself or his family: on the contrary, he declined preferment when it was offered to him.

Is made
preceptor to
the duke of
Gloucester.

In the year 1698, when it became necessary to settle the duke of Gloucester's family, the king sent the earl of Sunderland with a message to the princess of Denmark, acquainting her, "that he put the whole management of her son's household into her hands, but that he owed the care of his education to himself and his people, and therefore would name the persons for that purpose." Accordingly, the earl of Marlborough being nominated his governor, the bishop of Salisbury was appointed his preceptor. He was then retired into his diocese, having lately lost his wife by the small pox. He took that occasion therefore to wave the offer of this important charge; though he was assured, the princess

Which he
endeavours
to decline.

had testified her approbation of the king's choice. He wrote to the earl of Sunderland, to use his interest, that he might be excused, and in return received from him the following letter.

“ MY LORD,^o

“ June 29.

“ I am extremely troubled for your loss, it being, by all that I have heard, a very great one: but you must not leave serving the public upon any private consideration. I intend to be in town next week, and if I have any credit at all, you may be assured that you shall be sent for, and shall come thither, unless you will fall out with all your friends, and with the king in the first place. I am, with great truth,

“ My lord,

“ Your most faithful humble servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

Our author wrote likewise to his friend arch-717 bishop Tennison, desiring him to wait on the king in his name, and intreat his majesty to allow him to decline this employment: the archbishop replied, and offered many arguments to persuade him to accept of it; which only produced a second letter, stronger than the former, and to the same purpose: to which his grace, by king William's direction, returned the following answer.

“ MY LORD P,

“ Lambeth, June 28, 1698.

“ I received your second, in which you seem to insist on the contents of the first; upon that ac-

^o The original letter is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

^p The original is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

“ count, I waited on the king, not being willing to
“ decline doing what you so earnestly pressed. The
“ king expressed himself with great tenderness upon
“ this subject; he commanded me to let you under-
“ stand, that he had sent for you before this time, if
“ this misfortune had not happened; and that he
“ still desires you to come, as soon as with decency
“ you can. He looks upon you as a divine, who in
“ such cases had comforted many, and thinks it will
“ look best, not to suffer such a cross to get such
“ power over you, as to make you decline so public
“ a service. He spoke to this effect, without my
“ urging my private opinion, which is what it was
“ in my first. I heartily pray for you; I pity you as
“ my own brother, but I cannot bring myself in this
“ to be of your lordship’s opinion. It is true, if no
“ steps had been made in this affair, your excuse
“ would the easier have made its way; but seeing
“ things are so far advanced, it seems not proper to
“ go back. If upon this, that hopeful prince shall
“ fall into such hands as are unfit, your lordship
“ would then reflect upon your having declined the
“ service, with pain and grief. Pray, next post, let
“ me have some answer our good master the king
“ may be pleased with. I am,

“ My lord,

“ Your affectionate brother,

“ THO. CANTUAR.”

As the rest of the bishop’s friends concurred in the same strain, earnestly pressing him not to refuse a station wherein he might do his country such signal service, as in the right education of the duke of Gloucester, he thought it might be construed obsti-

nacy not to submit. He therefore signified his compliance, in his answer to the archbishop of Canterbury; who thereupon wrote him another letter, which I shall here insert.

“ MY LORD ^q, “ Kensington, July 4, 1698. 718

“ Late last night the king spoke again about your coming up; the time you mention (Friday fortnight) he thinks much too long; he therefore commanded me to send an express to you, in order to your coming up as soon as possibly you can: he having time little enough to settle that matter before his going beyond sea; which will not now be long; because the parliament may speedily end, perhaps this day. He considers very graciously the commendableness of your submission in these circumstances, which is indeed worthy of you. Pray hasten as much as you possibly can, and may God bring you safely hither. I am,

“ Your affectionate brother,

“ THO. CANTUAR.”

“ P.S. The parliament rises to-morrow, and the king goes soon to Windsor, where you may wait on his majesty.”

When our author, upon his arrival at Windsor, had his first audience of the king, he assured his majesty, it was no longer his intention to decline so honourable an employment, as the educating a prince so nearly related to the crown, since his royal master thought him worthy of that trust; but as the discharge of his duty in this station must confine him constantly to court, which was inconsistent with

^q The original is in the editor's hands. AUTHOR.

his episcopal function, he desired leave to resign his bishopric. The king was much surprised at the proposal, to which he would by no means consent: however, finding our author persisted in it, he was at length prevailed on to agree that the duke should reside all the summer at Windsor, and that the bishop should have ten weeks allowed him every year, to visit the other parts of his diocese^r.

The method he pursued in the duke of Gloucester's education, and the amazing progress made in it, during the short time that prince was under his care, are mentioned in the History: to which I shall only add, that he conducted himself in such a manner, that the princess of Denmark ever after retained a peculiar regard for him, of which he received some sensible marks, when she came to the throne^s, even at times when he was engaged in a public opposition to the measures of her ministers.

His marriage with Mrs. Berkeley.

The assiduous attendance our author was obliged to, whilst he was preceptor to the duke, and the tender age of his own children, made it requisite to look 719 out for a proper mistress to his family. He fixed upon Mrs. Berkeley, a lady of uncommon degrees of knowledge, piety, and virtue; as may appear from her Method of Devotion, which bore several impressions in her lifetime; and was reprinted after her death, with an account of her life, by Dr. Goodwyn,

^r This fact was related to the editor by Mr. Mackney, who then attended the bishop to Windsor, and had it from his own mouth. AUTHOR. (His appropriating the whole of his salary as preceptor to charitable purposes, does the bishop

more credit, than the proposal here mentioned of resigning his see, a very dangerous and pernicious one, on account of the probable consequences.)

^s (Compare note at p. 309 folio edit.)

(the late archbishop of Cashels in Ireland,) which renders it unnecessary here to enlarge upon her character.

In the year 1699, our author published his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. He was first engaged in this undertaking by queen Mary, who had so highly approved of his Four Discourses to his Clergy, and his treatise of the Pastoral Care, that she, as well as archbishop Tillotson, judged no man so proper as himself to render this important service to the church. At their entreaty therefore, he undertook this laborious task, which he performed in less than the compass of a year, though he kept it by him five years for correction. It was first revised, and in many places altered by Dr. Tillotson, whose opinion of this performance will best be learnt from one of his own letters.

He writes
an Exposition
of the
Thirty-
nine Arti-
cles.

“ MY LORD ^t, “ Lambeth-House, Oct. 23, 1694.

“ I have with great pleasure and satisfaction read
“ over the great volume you sent me ; and am asto-
“ nished to see so vast a work, begun and finished
“ in so short a time. In the article of the Trinity
“ you have said all that I think can be said upon so
“ obscure and difficult an argument. The Socinians
“ have just now published an answer to us all ; but
“ I have not had a sight of it. The negative arti-
“ cles against the church of Rome you have very
“ fully explained, and with great learning and judg-
“ ment. Concerning these, you will meet with no
“ opposition amongst ourselves. The greatest dan-

^t An attested copy of this letter, in the hand-writing of the present archbishop of Dub-
lin, is in the editor's hands.
AUTHOR.

“ger was to be apprehended from the points in difference between the Calvinists and Remonstrants, in which you have shewn, not only great skill and moderation, but great prudence in contenting yourself to represent both sides impartially, without any positive declaration of your own judgment. The account given of Athanasius’s Creed seems to me no wise satisfactory; I wish we were well rid of it^u. I pray God long to preserve your lordship, to do more such services to the church. I am,

“ My lord,

“ Yours most affectionately,

“ JO. CANT.”

720 This work was afterwards perused and approved by archbishop Tennison, archbishop Sharp, bishop Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Hall, and Williams: the last of these strongly recommended the considering them only as articles of peace, in which men were bound to acquiesce without contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe^x. There might perhaps be reason to wish, that they had only been imposed as such, but there was nothing in our constitution to warrant an expositor in giving that sense to them: the book likewise passed through the hands of many learned men in both universities, and was generally applauded. Upon its first appearance in print, it was universally well received; those, who had been employed to criticise every work the bishop had published for some years, were silent as to this. Indeed when

^u (Swift has drawn a finger this passage.)
in the margin of his copy of
Burnet’s History pointing to

^x See before page 10. O.

the convocation met, and the two houses were warmly engaged in disputes relating to their respective privileges, in which our author bore a considerable share; the lower house, in resentment, brought up a general censure of his Exposition, but refused to point out the particulars upon which it was grounded: though the upper house remonstrated, how necessary that was, in order to enable them to concur in the censure, which they could not pretend to do, till they were informed of the reasons for it.

For five or six years before his death, our author grew more abstracted from the world, than the situation he had been in during the former parts of his life had permitted. To avoid the distraction of useless visits, he settled in St. John's court in Clerkenwell, and kept up only an intercourse with his most select and intimate acquaintance: their names will be an honour to his memory, and therefore I beg leave to mention the most considerable amongst them. Such were the late dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Shrewsbury; the earls of Godolphin, Cowper, and Halifax; the lords Somers and Pelham; and the present duchess dowager of Marlborough, the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh; the lord Townshend, the lord King, the master of the rolls sir Joseph Jekyll, the lord chief justice Eyre, and Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, who, as he was his near relation, so he always lived with him in the friendship and freedom of a brother.

I have said nothing in relation to the part our author acted in parliament, in convocation, or in the several matters of state wherein he was consulted and employed; this is fully and impartially set forth

His diligence in his calling whilst in London.

in the History itself. Yet I ought to inform the reader, that the bishop's necessary attendance on the house of lords in the winter season was not a 721 means of abating his diligence in the duties of his calling, though it diverted the exercise of it from the proper scene, his diocese. For whilst he stayed in town, he failed not of preaching every Sunday morning, in some church or other in London; and as he was much followed, he was generally engaged for charity sermons, at which he himself was always a liberal contributor: in the Sunday evening, he had a lecture in his own house, upon some select portion of scripture; to which many persons of distinction resorted, though at first it was only intended for the benefit of his own family^y.

As he lived to see the turn which the affairs of Great Britain, I might say of Europe, took upon the death of queen Anne, for whom he always had the highest personal veneration, but whom he thought unwarily engaged in measures which might have proved fatal; I need not say, with what comfort he saw a succession take place, of which he himself had been the first mover; and a family established, in whose interests he had been so steadfast and zeal-

^y I had admittance to hear one of these lectures. It was upon the new heavens and the new earth after the general conflagration. He first read to us the chapter in St. Peter, where this is described. Then enlarged upon it with that force of imagination and solemnity of speech and manner, (the subject suiting his genius,) as to make this resemblance of it to affect me extremely even now,

although it is near forty years ago since I heard it. I remember it the more, because I never heard a preacher equal to him. There was an earnestness of heart, and look, and voice, that is scarcely to be conceived, as it is not the fashion of the present times; and by the want of which, as much as any thing, religion is every day failing with us. O.

ous, and by whom he had been so much entrusted.

He published a third volume, as a supplement to his two former, of the History of the Reformation, at the time of his late majesty's arrival in England, to whom it was dedicated. And as if his life had only been prolonged to see this great work complete, and the protestant interest in a fair prospect of security, he died soon after.

Writes a third volume as a supplement to his History of the Reformation.

Thus I have endeavoured to give some account of our author's behaviour in all the different stations he passed through in public: it may be expected, I should say something of him in domestic life.

His domestic character.

His time, the only treasure of which he seemed covetous, was employed in one regular and uniform manner. His constant health permitted him to be an early riser; he was seldom in bed later than five a-clock in the morning during the summer, or than six in the winter. Private meditation took up the two first hours and the last half hour of the day. His first and last appearance to his family was at the morning and evening prayers, which were always read by himself, though his chaplains were present. He drank his tea in company with his children, and took that opportunity of instructing them in religion; he went through the Old and New Testament with them three times, giving his own comment upon some portion of it, for an hour every morning^z. When this was over, he retired to his study, where he seldom spent less than six, often

His time, how employed.

^z His son Thomas, the writer of this Life, being one of the judges of the realm, dying about 1753, left this singular passage

in his will, that he was a Christian of no particular church. *Cole's MS. note.* (See the New Biogr. Britan. v. Burnet, III. 40.)

more than eight hours in a day. The rest of his
 722 time was taken up with business, exercise, and necessary rest, or bestowed on friendly visits and cheerful meals. As he kept an open table, in which there was plenty without luxury, so no man was more pleased with innocent mirth there, no man encouraged it more, or had a larger fund of entertainment to contribute towards it. His equipage, like his table, was decent and plain; and all his expenses denoted a temper generous, but not profuse. The episcopal palace, when he came to Salisbury, was thought one of the worst; and when he died, was one of the best in England.

An affectionate husband.

The character I have given his wives will scarce make it an addition to his, that he was a most affectionate husband. His tender care of the first, during a course of sickness that lasted for many years, and his fond love to the other two, and the deep concern he expressed for their loss, were no more than their just due, from one of his humanity, gratitude, and discernment^a.

His care of his children's education.

His love to his children, perhaps accompanied with too much indulgence, was not exerted in laying up for them a hoard of wealth out of the revenues of the church, but in giving them a noble education; though the charge of it was wholly maintained out of his private fortune. At seven years old, he entered his sons into Latin, giving each of them a distinct tutor, who had a salary of forty pounds a year, which was never lessened on account of any prebend the bishop gave him. After five or six years had perfected his sons in the learned languages, he sent them to the university; the eldest

^a Three wives. S.

a gentleman commoner to Trinity college in Cambridge, the other two commoners to Merton college in Oxford; where, besides the college tutor, they had a private one, to assist them in their learning, and to overlook their behaviour. In the year 1706, he sent them abroad for two years to finish their studies at Leyden; from whence two of them took a tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. The eldest and youngest, by their own choice, were bred to the law, and the second to divinity^b.

In his friendships, our author was warm, open-hearted, and constant: from those I have taken the liberty to mention, the reader will perceive that they were formed upon the most prudent choice, and I cannot find an instance of any one friend he ever lost, but by death. It is a common, perhaps a just observation, that a hearty friend is apt to be as hearty an enemy; yet this rule did not hold in our author. For though his station, his principles, but above all, his steadfast adherence to the Hanover succession, raised him many enemies; yet he no sooner had it in his power to have taken severe revenges on them, than he endeavoured, by the kindest good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them, by returning good for evil. I have already given some instances of this nature here, and many more will occur to the reader in the History.

The bishop was a kind and bountiful master to his servants, whom he never changed but with regret, and through necessity: friendly and obliging to all in employment under him, and peculiarly

His firmness in his friendships.

His conduct to those in employment under him.

^b (The youngest son, afterwards sir Thomas Burnet, and a judge, was the author of this

Life. His second son published an Abridgement of his father's History of the Reformation.)

happy in the choice of them; especially in that of the steward to the bishopric and his courts, William Wastefield, esq. (a gentleman of a plentiful fortune at the time of his accepting this post,) and in that of his domestic steward, Mr. Mackney^c. These were both men of approved worth and integrity, firmly attached to his interests, and were treated by him, as they well deserved, with friendship and confidence. To them I must appeal for the truth of many facts here related, particularly those concerning his labours in his diocese; from them I likewise had an account of his extensive charities.

His charities.

This was indeed a principal article of his expense, impossible now to fix as to all the particulars; our author being as secret as he was liberal in those charities which he distributed with his own hands; yet the greatest part of them could not be hid from the persons who were intrusted with the management of his affairs. His gifts for the augmentation of small livings, of an hundred pounds at a time; his constant pensions to poor clergymen, to their widows, to students for their education at the universities, and to industrious families that were struggling with the world; the frequent sums given by him towards the repairs or building of churches and vicarage-houses; his liberal contribution to all public collections, to the support of charity-schools, (one of which for fifty children, at Salisbury, was wholly maintained by him,) and the many apprentices at different times put out to trades at his charge, were charities that could not be wholly concealed. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, sect, or party; want and merit in the object were the only measures

^c A Scot, his own countryman. S.

of his liberality. Thus when Mr. Martin, (minister of Compton Chamberlein,) for refusing to take the oaths to the government, soon after the revolution, had forfeited his prebend in the church of Sarum, the bishop, out of his own income, paid him the yearly value of it during his life. His usual allowance for charity was five hundred pounds a year, which he often exceeded; particularly in the two years that he was preceptor to the duke of Gloucester, in which time this article amounted to one and twenty hundred pounds. In a word, no object of Christian compassion ever came within his knowledge without receiving a proportionable relief. He looked upon himself, with regard to his episcopal revenue, as a mere trustee for the church, bound to expend the whole in the maintenance of a decent figure suitable to his station, in hospitality, and in acts of charity. And he had so faithfully balanced this account, that at his death no more of the income of his bishopric remained to his family^d, than what was barely sufficient for the payment of his debts.

But if he was thus liberal of his own purse, he was not less strict in preserving the revenues of his see for the benefit of his successors, of which this remarkable instance may suffice^e. One of his predecessors had converted a large estate at Monckton Farley, held of the bishop, from a lease of one and twenty years, into an estate for three lives, and had received a valuable consideration for so doing. Our

His care of the revenue of the see.

^d This, Mr. Mackney his steward, assured me, appeared in his accounts. AUTHOR.

^e This I had from the minister of Monckton Farley, and

many others at the time, and it was confirmed to me since by Mr. Wastefield and Mr. Mackney. AUTHOR.

author resolved, if possible, to restore it to the former tenure, as being much more advantageous to the see: when, therefore, one of the lives fell, he refused to renew; and when, the other two lives being very unhealthy, sir John Talbot offered him a thousand pounds for the renewal of that one life, and the change of the other two, he still persisted in his refusal: till at length the tenant, apprehending the whole estate would have fallen in, agreed to accept of a lease for one and twenty years, for which the bishop would take no more than four hundred pounds fine to himself; but made it part of his agreement, that the tenant should pay ten pounds yearly rent to the minister of the parish, as a perpetual augmentation to that poor living, besides the usual reserved rent to the see.

His death.

In March 17⁺₃, being the seventy-second year of his age, our author was taken ill of a violent cold, which soon turned to a pleuritic fever: he was attended in it by his worthy friend and relation Dr. Cheyne, who treated him with the utmost care and skill; but finding his distemper grew to a height which seemed to baffle all remedies, he called for the assistance of sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead, who quickly found his case was desperate. His character was too well known to induce any one to conceal from him the danger his life was in: he bore the notice of it with that calm resignation to Providence which had always supported him under the severest trials. As he preserved his senses to the last, so he employed the precious remnant of life in
 725 continual acts of devotion, and in giving the best advice to his family; of whom he took leave in a manner that shewed the utmost tenderness, accom-

panied with the firmest constancy of mind. And whilst he was so little sensible of the terrors of death as to embrace its approach with joy, he could not but express a concern for the grief he saw it caused in others. He died on the seventeenth day of that month.

It would be a presumption in me to attempt the drawing his character, when it has been done by so elegant a hand as that of the late marquis of Halifax: as this beautiful piece, I believe, has never been made public, the reader will pardon my inserting it here.

“ Dr. Burnet ^f is, like all men who are above the
 “ ordinary level, seldom spoke of in a mean; he must
 “ either be railed at or admired: he has a swiftness
 “ of imagination that no other man comes up to;
 “ and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough
 “ of any thing without having too much, he cannot
 “ at all times so hold in his thoughts, but that at
 “ some time they may run away with him; as it is
 “ hard for a vessel that is brim-full, when in motion,
 “ not to run over; and therefore the variety of mat-
 “ ter that he ever carries about him, may throw
 “ out more than an unkind critic would allow of.
 “ His first thoughts may sometimes require more di-
 “ gestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but
 “ from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes
 “ too fast for him. His friends love him too well to
 “ see small faults; or, if they do, think that his

His charac-
 ter by the
 marquis of
 Halifax.

^f The copy from which this is printed, was taken from one given to the bishop, in the marquis of Halifax's own hand-writing, which was in the editor's hands, but is at present mislaid. AUTHOR.

“ greater talents give him a privilege of straying
“ from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him
“ from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces
“ so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for
“ admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an ex-
“ cuse ; he may in some things require grains of al-
“ lowance, which those only can deny him, who are
“ unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in
“ discerning other men’s faults than he is in forgiv-
“ ing them ; so ready, or rather glad, to acknow-
“ ledge his own, that from blemishes they become
“ ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his
“ indecent adversaries have had no other effect, than
“ the setting his good-nature in so much a better
“ light, since his anger never yet went farther than
“ to pity them. That heat which in most other men
“ raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into
“ warmth for his friends, and compassion for those
726 “ in want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes
“ in discerning the smaller faults of those that na-
“ ture has made superior to them, they do not miss
“ one blot he makes ; and being beholden only to
“ their barrenness for their discretion, they fall upon
“ the errors which arise out of his abundance ; and
“ by a mistake, into which their malice betrays
“ them, they think that by finding a mote in his
“ eye, they hide the beams that are in their own.
“ His quickness makes writing so easy a thing to
“ him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor soured
“ by it : the soil is not forced, every thing grows
“ and brings forth without pangs ; which distin-
“ guishes as much what he does from that which
“ smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern
“ between fruit which comes from a rich mould,

“ and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains that
 “ have been bestowed upon it. He makes many
 “ enemies, by setting an ill-natured example of liv-
 “ ing, which they are not inclined to follow. His
 “ indifference for preferment, his contempt not only
 “ of splendour, but of all unnecessary plenty, his de-
 “ grading himself into the lowest and most painful
 “ duties of his calling, are such unprelatical quali-
 “ ties, that, let him be never so orthodox in other
 “ things, in these he must be a dissenter. Virtues
 “ of such a stamp are so many heresies in the
 “ opinion of those divines who have softened the
 “ primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit bet-
 “ ter with the present frailty of mankind. No won-
 “ der then, if they are angry, since it is in their own
 “ defence; or that from a principal of self-preserva-
 “ tion they should endeavour to suppress a man,
 “ whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scan-
 “ dal to them &c.”

§ With great submission to the editor, Mr. Thomas Burnett, if there ever were any such character of his father in the marquis of Halifax's own handwriting, it must have been wrote by the figure of irony; for it is notoriously known, that the marquis, after he sat with him in the house of lords, made it his constant diversion to turn him and all he said into ridicule; and his son, the last marquis, told me, in his private conversation he always spoke

of him with the utmost contempt, as a factious, turbulent, busy man, that was most officiously meddling with what he had nothing to do, and very dangerous to put any confidence in, having met with many scandalous breaches of trust whilst he had any conversation with him. Therefore I believe Tom must have been mistaken, and that it will appear, if ever he finds the original, to be in his father's, not the marquis's own handwriting. D.

A

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^a (The pages referred to are those of the folio edition, which are inserted in the margin of the present.)

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A
CHRONOLOGICAL AND DISTINCT ACCOUNT
OF THE
WORKS
OF THE RIGHT REVEREND AND LEARNED
DR. GILBERT BURNET,
LATE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY, &c.

A chronological and particular Account of the Works of the right reverend and learned Dr. Gilbert Burnet, late lord bishop of Salisbury, connected and disposed under proper heads, interspersed with some critical and historical observations; and here subjoined. By R. F. (Flexman.)

I. *Sermons.*

1. **SUBJECTION** for conscience sake asserted; at Covent Garden, 6 Decem. 1674, on Rom. xiii. 5. 4to. 1675.

2. The royal martyr lamented; at the Savoy, 30 Jan. 1674. 2 Sam. i. 12. 4to. 1675.

These two sermons were reprinted. 8vo. 1710.

3. Before the lord mayor and aldermen, at St. Mary-le-Bow, 2 Sept. 1680, the fast-day for the fire of London. Amos iv. 11, 12. 4to. 1680.

4. Before the house of commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 22 December, 1680, the fast-day. Rev. iii. 2, 3. 4to. 1681.

5. Before the court of aldermen, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30 Jan. 1682. Zech. viii. 19. 4to. 1681.

6. An exhortation to peace and union; before the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 29 Sept. 1681, the day of electing the lord mayor. Matth. xii. 25. 4to. 1681.

7. At the funeral of Mr. James Houblon, at St. Mary Woolnoth, 28 June, 1682. Psalm xxxvii. 37. 4to. 1682.

8. ^a At the chapel of the Rolls, 5 Nov. 1684. Psalm xxii. 21. 4to. 1684.

^a The author hath acquainted his readers in the preface, that, on account of this sermon, he had been unjustly censured as a person disaf-

9. Before the prince of Orange, at St. James's, 23 Dec. 1688. Psalm cxviii. 23. 4to. 1689.

10. Before the house of commons, 31 Jan. 168⁸/₉, the day of thanksgiving for the deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, by his highness the prince of Orange's means. Psalm cxliv. 15. 4to. 1689.

11. At the coronation of king William and queen Mary, at Westminster Abbey, 11 April, 1689. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. 4to. 1689.

12. Before the house of peers, at Westminster Abbey, 5 Nov. 1689. Micah vi. 5. 4to. 1689.

13. An exhortation to peace and unity, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 26 Nov. 1689. Acts vii. 26. 4to. 1689.

14. Before the king and queen, at Whitehall, on Christmas day, 1689. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 4to. 1689. (1690.)

15. Before the court of aldermen, at St. Mary-le-Bow, on the fast-day, 12 March, 16⁸/₉. Luke xix. 41, 42. 4to. 1690.

16. Before the queen, at Whitehall, on the fast-day, 16 July, 1690. Psalm lxxxv. 8. 4to. 1690.

17. Before the king and queen, at Whitehall, on the day of thanksgiving, 19 Oct. 1690. Psalm cxliv. 10, 11. 4to. 1690.

18. At the funeral of the right honourable Anne lady dowager Brook, at Breamor, 19 Feb. 169⁰/₁. Prov. xxxi. 30, 31. 4to. 1691.

19. Before the king and queen, at Whitehall, on the fast-day, 29 April, 1691. Psalm xii. 1. 4to. 1691.

20. Before the king and queen, at Whitehall, on the day of thanksgiving, 26 Nov. 1691. Prov. xx. 28. 4to. 1691.

fect to his majesty's government ; and it soon appeared, that the court was very highly offended at him ; for by an order from the right honourable Francis North, lord Guilford, lord keeper of the great seal, directed to sir Harbottle Grimston, knt. master of the rolls, in the next month, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls chapel. Soon after he left

the kingdom, from just apprehensions of danger from his enemies, that he might enjoy a place of safe retreat in foreign countries, where he continued till the happy revolution, 1688. See the Life of the Author, p. 33. General Dictionary, vol. iii. p. 706. Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 1038.

21. At the funeral of the honourable Robert Boyle, esq. at St. Martin's in the Fields, 7 Jan. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. Eccles. ii. 26. 4to. 1692.

22. Before the queen, at Whitehall, the third Sunday in Lent, 11 March, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$. 1 Cor. i. 26. 4to. 1694.

23. Before the queen, at Whitehall, 29 May, 1694. Psalm cv. 5. 4to. 1694.

24. At the funeral of the most reverend Dr. John Tillotson, late archbishop of Canterbury, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30 Nov. 1694. 2 Tim. iv. 7. 4to. 1694.

25. Before the king, at St. James's, the first Sunday in Lent, 10 Feb. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$. 2 Cor. vi. 1. 4to. 1695.

26. Before the king, at Whitehall, on Christmas-day, 1696. Gal. iv. 4. 4to. 1696. (1697.)

27. Before the king, at Whitehall, the third Sunday in Lent, 7 March, 169 $\frac{5}{8}$. Ephes. v. 1. 4to. 1697.

28. Before the king, at Whitehall, 2 December, 1697, the day of thanksgiving for the peace. 2 Chron. ix. 8. 4to. 1697.

29. Of charity to the household of faith; before the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter Monday, 25 April, 1698. Gal. vi. 10. 4to. 1698.

30. Charitable reproof; before the societies for reformation of manners, at St. Mary-le-Bow, 25 March, 1700. Prov. xxvii. 5, 6. 4to. 1700.

31. At St. James's church, upon reading the brief for the persecuted exiles of the principality of Orange, Jan. 170 $\frac{1}{2}$. 1 Cor. xii. 26, 27. 4to. 1704.

32. ^b Before the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, at St. Mary-le-Bow, 18 Feb. 170 $\frac{1}{2}$. Malachi i. 11. 4to. 1704.

33. At Salisbury, (and some other places,) at the triennial visitation, Oct. 1704. Phil. ii. 1, 2. 4to. 1704.

34. At St. James's, 10 March, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$, the fifth Sunday in Lent. Psalm xlix. 20. 4to. 1706.

^b The sermons, from numb. 3, to numb. 32 inclusive, are in the Collection of tracts and discourses, written and published in the years 1677—1704, in three volumes quarto, collected in 1704.

35. Before the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. at St. Sepulchre's, on Easter Monday, 25 March, 1706. Matth. xxiv. 12. 4to.

36. On the day of thanksgiving, 27 June, 1706. Deut. iv. 6, 7, 8. 8vo.

37. Before the queen, and the two houses of parliament, at St. Paul's, 31 Dec. 1706, the day of thanksgiving for the wonderful successes of that year. Psalm lxxii. 4. 8vo. 1707.

38. At Salisbury, 29 May, 1710. Matth. xxii. 21. 8vo. 1710.

39 and 40. At Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1710, and 7 Nov. 1710, the day of thanksgiving. Psalm cxliv. 15. 8vo. 1710.

41. Before the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter Monday, 2 April, 1711. Psalm cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9. 4to. 1711.

42. Before the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter Monday, 29 March, 1714. Daniel iv. 27. 8vo. 1714.

43. At Salisbury, at the triennial visitation, 1714. Acts xx. 28. 4to.

44. Before the king, at St. James's, 31 Oct. 1714. Psalm ii. 10, 11. 8vo. (1714.)

45. Before the king and queen, at Hampton-Court, on the first fast-day, 5 June, 1689. ^c 2 Chron. xv. 2.

46. ^d Prepared by queen Mary's order for the day of thanksgiving, 27 Oct. 1692, for the victory at sea, near La Hogue. Exod. iv. 13.

47. Before queen Anne, upon her accession to the throne,

^c In the year 1713, the bishop published in 8vo. a volume entitled, "Some sermons preached on several occasions, and an essay towards a new book of homilies, in seven sermons, prepared at the desire of archbishop Tillotson, and some other bishops." See numb. 45—58. The preface to these sermons containeth a laboured and most judicious defence of the revolution; in which the lawfulness and neces-

sity of that important transaction are fully justified against the reproaches and misrepresentations of the nonjurors, and others, who are disaffected to the present happy constitution.

^d The reasons why this sermon was not preached at the time for which it was prepared, the reader may find distinctly represented in the Life of Archbishop Tillotson, by the reverend Dr. Birch, p. 305.

at St. James's, 15 March, 1704, the fourth Sunday in Lent. Isaiah xlix. 23.

48. * Against popery, at St. Clement's, near the end of king Charles II'd's reign. Ephes. i. 3.

49 and 50. Before the lord William Russel, in Newgate, 20 July, 1683, the day before he suffered. Rev. xiv. 13. Psalm xxiii. 4.

51. Upon death, in the cathedral church at Salisbury, on occasion of the death of the reverend Mr. Edward Young, dean of Salisbury, who died 7 Aug. 1705. Eccles. xii. 7.

52. Upon the love of God. Matth. xxii. 35, 36, 37, 38.

53. Upon the love of our neighbour. Matth. xxii. 39, 40.

54. Against perjury. Levit. xix. 12.

55. Of the nature of oaths, and against profane swearing. James v. 12.

56. Upon keeping holy the sabbath-day. Exod. xx. 8, 9, 10, 11.

57. Against adultery and uncleanness. Heb. xiii. 4.

58. Against drunkenness. Ephes. v. 18.

II. *Discourses and tracts in divinity.*

1. On the importance of substantial piety and vital religion; a preface to a book entitled, "The life of God in the soul of man; or, the nature and excellency of the Christian religion; by Henry Scougal, M. A. sometime professor of divinity in the university of Aberdeen." 8vo. 1688.

2. Instructions for the archdeacons of the diocese of Salisbury, to be delivered by them to the clergy in their Easter visitations; together with a letter from their diocesan, dated 22 April, 1690. 4to. 1690.

* Soon after this sermon was preached, the resentment of the court against our author was so great, that he was discharged from his lecture at St. Clement's, by virtue of the king's mandate to the reverend Dr. Gregory Hascard, rector of that parish. See the Life of the Author, p. 33. Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 1038.

3. A short directory, containing proper rules how to prepare young persons for confirmation. 4to. 1690.

4. ^f A discourse concerning the pastoral care. 4to. and 8vo. 1692.

5. Four discourses delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury, concerning, I. The truth of the Christian religion. II. The divinity and death of Christ. III. The infallibility and authority of the church. IV. The obligations to continue in the communion of the church; with a large prefatory epistle to the clergy of the said diocese &c. (4to. Lond. 1694.)

6. ^h A letter to the reverend Dr. John Williams, in defence of the "discourse concerning the divinity and death of Christ." 4to. 1695.

7. ⁱ Animadversions upon a late book, written by Mr. Hill, falsely called, "A vindication of the primitive fathers against the imputations of Gilbert lord bishop of Sarum." 4to. 1695.

8. ^k Reflections upon a pamphlet entitled, "Some discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late funeral sermon of the former upon the latter." 8vo. 1696.

^f A third edition of this serious and excellent discourse was printed in Nov. 1712, in 8vo.; to which were added a new preface, representing the true state of the church and clergy of England at that juncture, when the nation was inflamed and divided by the artful intrigues and clamours of the high-church incendiaries; and a tenth chapter concerning presentations to benefices, and simony.

^g This prefatory address, dated 8 Dec. 1693, exhibiteth a distinct account of the design of each discourse, and abundantly confuteth the objections which had been alleged against the revolution.

^h This letter is dated 2 Feb. 1694-5, and designed as a reply to the objections of an unitarian writer, contained in "Some considerations on the explications of the doctrine of

"the Trinity." Published 1694, in 4to. and is annexed to Dr. Williams's vindication of archbishop Tillotson and bishop Stillingfleet, against the remarks of the said writer.

ⁱ "The vindication of the primitive fathers," &c. written by the reverend Mr. Samuel Hill, archdeacon of Wells, and rector of Kilmington in the county of Somerset, was principally designed against some explications of the fathers relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, which the bishop had remarked upon in his second "discourse on the divinity and death of Christ."

^k These discourses are said to be written by Dr. George Hickes, a virulent adversary to the archbishop and our bishop, whose "Reflections," as Dr. Birch observeth, "contain a strong and clear answer to them." Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 345.

9. ¹ An exposition of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. folio. 1699.

The fifth edition of this work was published 1746, in a large 8vo.

10. Remarks on the examination of the second article of our church. 4to. 1702.

11. A charge given at the triennial visitation of the diocese of Salisbury, in Oct. 1704, prefixed to a sermon preached at the same visitation. See Sermons, numb. 33. 4to. 1704.

12. An exposition of the church catechism, for the use of the diocese of Salisbury. 8vo. 1710.

13. A charge given at the triennial visitation of the diocese of Salisbury, 1714; published together with a sermon preached at the same visitation. See Sermons, numb. 43. 4to. 1714.

III. *Tracts against Popery.*

1. The mystery of iniquity unveiled; in a discourse, wherein is held forth the opposition of the doctrine, worship, and practices of the Roman church to the nature, designs, and characters of the Christian faith^m. 12mo. 1678.

2. Rome's glory; or a collection of divers miracles wrought by popish saints, collected out of their own au-

¹ This learned, judicious, and instructive performance, the result of great abilities and indefatigable industry, was drawn up in the year 1694, and sent to archbishop Tillotson, who revised and altered it in several places, and expressed his astonishment to see so vast a work begun and finished in less than a year; and declared the great pleasure and satisfaction with which he read it over. See Dr. Birch's *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 342.

This work was afterwards perused and approved by archbishops Tenison and Sharp, bishops Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Hall, and Williams: the last of these strongly recommended the considering them only

as articles of peace, in which men were bound to acquiesce without contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe. *Life of Bishop Burnet*, p. 74.

The reverend Dr. Jonathan Edwards, principal of Jesus College in Oxford, having published "An examination of the exposition of the 'second article,'" 1702, 4to. the bishop soon replied to the exceptions of that writer, in a small tract entitled, "Remarks," &c.

^m A second edition of this tract appeared in 1688, in 4to. in which the first part of the title, *viz.* "The 'mystery of iniquity unveiled,'" was omitted.

thors, with a prefatory discourse, declaring the impossibility and folly of such vain impostures. 8vo. 1673.

3. An account given by J. Ken, a Jesuit, of the truth of religion examined. 8vo. 1674.

4. A rational method for proving the truth of the Christian religion, as it is professed in the church of England, in answer to "A rational, compendious way to convince, without dispute, all persons whatsoever dissenting from the true religion, by J. Ken." 8vo. 1675.

5. A relation of a conference held about religion at London, 3 April, 1676, by Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. and Gilbert Burnet, with some gentlemen of the church of Rome, [Mr. Edward Coleman, a Jesuit, secretary to the duchess of York, and others.] At the end of the "relation of the conference," are added two discourses: I. To shew how unreasonable it is to ask for express words of scripture, in proving all articles of faith. II. To shew by what means the doctrines of the real presence and transubstantiation were introduced into the church. 8vo. 1676.

This piece was reprinted in 4to. 1687.

6. A vindication of the ordinations of the church of England; in which it is demonstrated, that all the essentials of ordination, according to the practice of the primitive and Greek churches, are still retained in our church; in answer to a paper written by one of the church of Rome, to prove the nullity of our orders; and given to a person of quality. [Sir Philip Terwhit's lady, at whose house the conference about religion was held, 3 April, 1676.] 8vo. 1677.

The second edition of the "vindication of the ordinations," &c. was published in 4to. 1688.

7. A letter written upon the discovery of the late plot. 4to. 1678.

8. The unreasonableness and impiety of popery, in a second letter written upon the discovery of the late plot. 4to. 1678.

9. A decree made at Rome, 2 March, 1679, condemning some opinions of the Jesuits and other casuists. 4to. 1679.

10. The infallibility of the Romish church examined and confuted. 4to. 1680.

11. The policy of Rome, as delivered by cardinal Palavicini, in his history of the council of Trent, with a preface, by G. Burnet, D. D. 8vo. 1681.

12. The letter writ by the last assembly general of the clergy of France to the protestants, inviting them to return to their communion, together with the methods proposed by them for their conviction, translated and examined. 8vo. 1683.

13. A letter containing remarks on the twoⁿ papers, writ by his late majesty king Charles the second, concerning religion. This letter was written 1685, but not published till 1688. 4to.

14. An inquiry into the reasons for abrogating the test imposed on all members of parliament, offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford. 4to. 1688.

15. A second part of the inquiry into the reasons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, for abrogating the test: or an answer to his plea for transubstantiation, and for acquitting the church of Rome of idolatry. 4to. 1688.

16. A continuation of the second part of the inquiry into the reasons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, for abrogating the test: relating to the idolatry of the church of Rome. 4to. 1688.

The two last mentioned pieces, viz. numb. 15 and 16, were some few months after published in one tract, with this title, "A discourse concerning transubstantiation and idolatry, being an answer to the bishop of Oxford's plea relating to those two points." 4to. 1688.

17 and 18. ° Reflections on "the relation of the English

ⁿ These papers were published by king James II. soon after the death of his royal brother. He declared that he found them in the closet of the deceased king, and written with his own hand; they relate to the "unity and authority of the catholic church, and the reformation of

"the church of England."

° In these reflections, &c. not only the general grounds of the reformation of the church of England are considered, but the matters of fact relating to that important affair are briefly and judiciously set forth and illustrated.

“ reformation, and the theses relating to it,” lately printed at Oxford, by Obadiah Walker, master of University college, in two parts. 4to. Amsterdam, 1688. London, 1689.

IV. *Tracts polemical, political, and miscellaneous.*

1. A modest and free conference between a conformist and nonconformist, in seven dialogues. 12mo. Glasgow, 1669.

2. A vindication of the authority, constitution, and laws of the church and state of Scotland : in four conferences, wherein the answer to the dialogues betwixt the conformist and the nonconformist is examined. 12mo. Glasgow, 1673.

A new edition of this piece was published 1724. 8vo.

3. Observations on the first and second of the canons commonly ascribed to the holy apostles ; wherein an account of the primitive constitution and government of churches is contained. Drawn from ancient and acknowledged writings. 12mo. Glasgow, 1673.

4. P A resolution of two important cases of conscience : question the first. Is a woman's barrenness a just ground for divorce or for polygamy? Question the second. Is polygamy in any case lawful under the gospel? Both which cases the author resolved in the affirmative.

5. A modest survey of a discourse, entitled, “ The naked truth ; or the true state of the primitive church, by an “ humble moderator,” [Dr. Herbert Crofts, bishop of Hereford.] 4to. 1676.

6. A translation of sir Thomas More's Utopia, with a preface concerning translations. 8vo. 1683.

P These papers are published in the appendix to the memoirs, &c. of John Macky, Esq. p. 25, &c. The occasion of his writing these pieces, about the year 1671, at the request of John Maitland earl of Lauderdale, the king's high commissioner to the parliament of Scotland, afterwards

created duke of Lauderdale and earl of Guilford, our author himself has informed us, in his “ Reflections on “ Dr. Hickeys Discourses,” &c. p. 76, &c. He adds, that, in a letter to the earl, he retracted the whole paper, and answered all the material things in it.

7. Reasons against the repealing the acts of parliament concerning the test: humbly offered to the consideration of the members of both houses, at their next meeting, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1687. 4to. 1687.

8. Some reflections on his majesty's proclamation of the twelfth of Feb. 1687, for a toleration in Scotland: together with the said proclamation. 4to. 1687.

9. A letter containing some reflections on his majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience, dated April 4, 1687. 4to.

10. An answer to Mr. Henry Payne's letter concerning his majesty's declaration of indulgence, writ to the author of a letter to a dissenter. 4to. 1687.

11. An answer to a paper printed with allowance, entitled a new test of the church of England's loyalty. 4to. 1687.

12. The earl of Melfort's letter to the presbyterian ministers in Scotland, writ in his majesty's name upon their address: together with some remarks upon it. 4to. 1687.

13. Reflections on a pamphlet, entitled, "Parliamentum pacificum," [written by John Northleigh, M. D.] licensed by the earl of Sunderland, and printed in London, in March, 1688. 4to.

14. An apology for the church of England, with relation to the spirit of persecution for which she is accused. 4to. 1688.

15. Some extracts out of Mr. James Stewart's letters from 12 July to 19 Nov. 1687, which were communicated to Mynheer Fagel, the States' pensioner of the province of Holland: together with some references to Mr. Stewart's printed letter. 4to. 1688.

16. An edict in the Roman law, [*de inspiciendo ventre, custodiendoque partu,*] concerning the visiting a woman with child, and the looking after what may be born of her; with observations from Aristophanes and Cicero, relating to the like cases. 4to. 1688.

17. An inquiry into the measures of submission to the supreme authority, and of the grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for subjects to defend their religion, lives, and liberties. 4to. 1688.

18. A review of the reflections on the prince of Orange's declaration, printed at Exeter in Nov. 1688. 4to.

19. The citation of Gilbert Burnet, D. D. to answer in Scotland on 27 June, old style, 1687, for high treason; together with his answer, and three letters writ by him upon that subject to the right hon. the earl of Middletoun, his majesty's secretary of state. 4to. 1688. (Of this article there was a translation in French, published previously to the English copy, in 1687. 4to. It is in the British Museum. P. B.)

20. Dr. Burnet's vindication of himself from the calumnies with which he is aspersed in a pamphlet, entitled, "Parliamentum pacificum," [written by John Northleigh, M. D.] licensed by the earl of Sunderland, and printed in London, March 1688. 4to.

21. An inquiry into the present state of affairs: and in particular, whether we owe allegiance to the king in these circumstances? And, whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again, or not? Published by authority. 4to. 1688.

22. Reflections on a paper, entitled, "His majesty's reasons for withdrawing himself from Rochester." Published by authority. 4to. 1688.

23. ^q A pastoral letter, writ by Gilbert lord bishop of Sarum, to the clergy of his diocese, concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to king William and queen Mary; dated 15 May, 1688. 4to.

24. A speech in the house of lords, December 1703, upon the bill, entitled, "An act for preventing occasional conformity." 4to. 1703.

25. A speech in the house of lords, 16 May 1710, upon the first article of the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell. 8vo. 1710.

26. Four letters between Gilbert lord bishop

^q This pastoral letter is printed in pages 19, 20, 21, together with the right of conquest, granted to some persons in parliament, that it was

received by the hands of the messenger, in 1693. The complete History of the Revolution, III. p. 587.

bury and Mr. Henry Dodwell, on occasion of Mr. Dodwell's resolution to leave the nonjurors, and return to the communion of the church of England. 8vo. 1713.

V. *History and Historical Tracts.*

1. *Memoirs of James and William dukes of Hamilton.* folio. 1676.

2. ^r *The history of the reformation of the church of England; in three volumes, folio.* The first volume was published 1679; the second in 1681; and the third in 1714.

3. ^s *An abridgment of the history of the reformation.* 3 vols. 12mo. 1682. 1719.

^r Upon the publication of the first volume of this most excellent work, the author obtained a distinguishing mark of honour, never before or since paid to any writer: he had the thanks of both houses of parliament, with a desire that he would prosecute the undertaking, and complete that valuable work. Accordingly, in less than two years after, he printed the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first; and such was his readiness in composing, that he wrote the historical part in the compass of six weeks, after all his materials were laid in order. See the *Life of the Author*, p. 22.

The character given of this useful history by some celebrated writers, deserveth a place in this account of his works. Dr. William Nicholson, bishop of Carlisle, afterwards archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, in his *English Historical Library*, p. 119, observeth, that the author "hath given a punctual account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its beginning, in the reign of Henry VIII. to its final establishment under queen Elizabeth, 1559. That the whole is penned in a masculine style, such as becomes an historian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of records which he gives at the head of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in

"the body of the history, and are much more perfect than could reasonably be expected, after the pains taken, in queen Mary's days, to suppress every thing that carried marks of the reformation upon it."

Another writer says, that these volumes "are pieces as profitable as inimitable; and for their sincerity, impartiality, and the authentic proof of their authority, are justly valued by all the learned men of the reformed nations of Europe, as likewise they are envied (not contemned) by the men of letters, who are enemies to the reformation. In these books his name will shine while names of men remain; and as long as learning is in the world, or the world stands for men to learn, this champion of the reformation will be read as the most authentic writer, to inform posterity of the manner, method, and nature of that great transaction in these kingdoms, which overthrew the Romish hierarchy, deposed the tyranny of popery in God's church, introducing gradually the truth and purity of doctrine and worship, which is now enjoyed by us all." See Dr. Charles Owen's *Funeral Sermon*, preached upon the occasion of the Death of the late Bishop of Sarum, pp. 28, 29.

^s In this work, the author tells us, he had wholly waved every thing

In support of the facts contained in the history of the reformation, the author published,

4. Reflections on Mr. Varillas's history of the revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of religion, and more particularly in his ninth book, that relates to England. 12mo. Amsterdam. 1686.

5. A defence of the reflections on the ninth book of the first volume of Mr. Varillas's history of heresies; being a reply to his answer. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1687.

6. A continuation of reflections on Mr. Varillas's history of heresies; particularly on that which relates to English affairs, in his third and fourth tomes. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1687.

7. A relation of the barbarous and bloody massacre of about an hundred thousand protestants, begun at Paris, and carried on over all France, by the papists, in the year 1572. Collected out of Mezeray, Thuanus, and other approved authors. 4to. 1678.

8. The last words of Dr. Lewis du Moulin; or his retraction of all the personal reflections he had made on the divines of the church of England. 4to. 1680.

9. Some passages of the life and death of the right hon. John Wilmot earl of Rochester, who died 26 July, 1680, written by his lordship's direction on his death-bed. 8vo. 1680.

10. The conversion and persecution of Eve Cohan, now called Elizabeth Verboon; a person of quality of the Jewish religion. 4to. 1680.

11. An account of the confessions of lieutenant John Stern and George Borosky, executed for the murder of Thomas Thynn, esq. 10 March, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$. folio. 1682.

that belonged to the records, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falsehoods that run through the popish historians; all which may be found in the history at large.

To the edition, in two volumes, 12mo. published 1719, there was added another volume of that size, containing an abridgment of the third volume, folio, by Gilbert Bur-

net, M.A. the bishop's second son; a clergyman of great worth and distinguished eminence, for his uncommon sagacity and solid judgment; whose answer to Mr. William Law's second letter to the bishop of Bangor is allowed to be among the best pieces in that controversy. See Mr. Hearne's Account of the Bangorian Controversy, p. 22.

12. News from France: in a letter, giving a relation of the present state of the difference between the French king and the court of Rome; to which is added, the pope's brief to the assembly of the clergy, and the protestation made by them in Latin, together with an English translation of them. 4to. 1682.

13. The history of the rights of princes in the disposing of ecclesiastical benefices and church lands; relating chiefly to the pretensions of the crown of France to the regale, and late contests with the court of Rome. To which is added, a collection of letters written upon that occasion: and of some other remarkable papers put in an appendix. 8vo. 1682.

14. An answer to the "Animadversions on the history of the rights of princes," &c. 4to. 1682.

15. The life and death of sir Matthew Hale, *knt.* sometime lord chief justice of the king's bench. 8vo. 1682.

There was a second edition of this tract published in 12mo. 1682. To which were annexed, "additional notes on the life and death of sir Matthew Hale," written by Richard Baxter, at the request of Edward Stephens, *esq.* the publisher of his *Contemplations*, and his familiar friend.

16. The life of Dr. William Bedel, bishop of Kilmore in Ireland; together with the copies of certain letters which passed between Spain and England, in matters of religion, concerning the general motives to the Roman obedience, between Mr. James Wadsworth, a late pensioner of the holy inquisition in Sevil, and the said William Bedel, then minister of the gospel in Suffolk. 8vo. 1685.

17. Three letters in defence of some passages in the history of the reformation, in answer to the reflections of the reverend Mr. Simon Lowth, vicar of Cosmus Blene, in his book of the subject of church power. 4to. 1685.

18. ^t A letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving some account

^t The letter relating to cardinal Pole hath been ascribed to sir William Coventry, *knt.* youngest son to Thomas Coventry lord Coventry, lord keeper of the great seal in the reign of king Charles the first. Of

this worthy gentleman the following narrative may be acceptable to the reader. He was appointed secretary to the duke of York soon after the restoration, and also secretary to the admiralty, and elected burgess for

of cardinal Pole's secret powers; from which it appears that it was never intended to confirm the alienation that was made of the abbey lands. To which are added, two breves, that cardinal Pole brought over, and some other of his letters, that were never before printed. 4to. 1685.

19. ^uTravels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland; describing their religion, learning, government, customs, natural history, trade, &c. written in letters to the honourable Robert Boyle, esq. To which is added, an appendix, containing remarks on Switzerland and Italy, by a person of quality. 12mo. 1687.

20. A relation of the death of the primitive persecutors. Translated from the Latin of Lactantius. With a large preface concerning persecution, in which the principles, the spirit and practice of it are freely censured and condemned. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1687.

The second edition was published in London. 8vo. 1713.

21. A letter to Mr. Thevenot, containing a censure of Mr. le Grand's history of king Henry the eighth's divorce. To which is added, a censure of Mr. de Meaux's [John Benigne Bossuet, late bishop of Condom] history of the variations of the protestant churches; together with some further reflections on Mr. le Grand. 4to. 1689.

22. A letter to Dr. William Lloyd, lord bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning a book lately published,

Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, in the parliament which met in May 1661. He was created doctor of the civil law at Oxford, 1663; sworn of the privy council, and received the honour of knighthood, 26 June, 1665; made one of the commissioners of the treasury, 24 May, 1667. See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. II. p. 601, edit. 1692.

He was, as bishop Burnet relates, "a man of great notions and eminent virtues, the best speaker in the house of commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it, and deserved it more than all the rest did." See Collins's

Peerage of England, vol. II. part 2. 8vo. 1735.

^u There have been several editions of this curious and entertaining narrative, the last of which was printed 1750, 12mo. It vastly surpasseth every thing in its kind extant, in the style, sentiments, matter, and method. The fine spirit which shineth through it is admirable. It is likely, that he exerted himself in an extraordinary manner in the composition, having chosen a person of so eminent a character for his patron. His observations upon the corruptions and impostures of popery must afford peculiar pleasure to every genuine and consistent protestant.

called "A specimen of some errors and defects in the history of the reformation of the church of England," by Anthony Harmer^x. 4to. 1693.

23. An essay on the memory of queen Mary. 8vo. London, 1695. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1695.

24. Reflections on a book, entitled, "The rights, powers, and privileges of an English convocation stated and vindicated," by Francis Atterbury, M. A. afterwards bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster. 4to. 1700.

25. *y* The history of his own time, in two volumes, folio. The first published 1723, the second in 1734^z. To which was added, the life of the author, by his son, Thomas Burnet, esq. since one of the justices of the court of common pleas; who also published a defence of this history, in reply to the objections of the right hon. George Granville lord Lansdown, contained in a pamphlet, entitled, "A letter to the author of the reflections historical and political."

The bishop left finished and prepared for the press, a book entitled, "Essays and meditations on morality and religion;" with directions in his last will that it should

^x The name of Anthony Harmer was a fictitious and delusive name, assumed in order to conceal the true author, who was Mr. Henry Wharton, chaplain to archbishop Sancroft.

^y The author of a paper in Hibernicus's letters, &c. written by several eminent hands in Dublin, styles this "an incomparable history, which for its noble impartiality and sincerity never was equalled but by Polybius and Philip de Comines: a history which hath received the best testimony of its worth from the mouth of its enemies, by giving equal offence to the bigotted and interested of all parties, sects, and denominations amongst us. A history, which doth honour to the language it is writ in, and will for ever make the name of Burnet sacred and venerable to all, who prefer an empire of reason and

"laws to that of blind passion and unbridled will and pleasure." See Hibernicus's Letters, vol. I. numb. 23.

^z The conclusion of this history, which is addressed to men of all orders and degrees, hath been published in small 12mo. that it may circulate into the hands of numbers of persons whom the history itself might never reach. It is, as the bishop himself observeth, "a sort of testament or dying speech, which," saith he, "I leave behind me to be read and considered when I can speak no more." The alarming important truths contained in it are expressed in such a propriety and energy of style, and so solemnly laid home to the consciences of men, that they are admirably calculated and adapted to awaken in the rising generation, a strong and lively sense of religion, virtue, and public spirit.

be printed, but I cannot find that this order was ever executed.

18th March, 1753. R. F.

In St. James's church, Clerkenwell, is a fair marble monument, erected to the memory of bishop Burnet. The pediment, which is circular, is supported by pilasters of the composite order, on the extremities of which are urns, and in the centre are the arms of the see of Salisbury and Burnet, impaled in a shield; on the frieze are cut in relievo several books and rolls; amongst which is one entitled, Hist. Reform. and on the tablet underneath is this

INSCRIPTION.

H. S. E.

GILBERTUS BURNET, S.T.P.

Episcopus SARISBURIENSIS

Et nobilissimi Ordinis à Periscelide CANCELLARIUS,
Natus EDINBURGI, 18 die Septembris, Anno Domini MDCXLIII.

Parentibus ROBERTO BURNET, Domino de CREMONT,
Ex antiquissima domo de LEYES, et RACHELE JOHNSTON,
Sorore Domini de WARISTOUN,

ABERDONIAE Literis instructus, SALTONI curae animarum invigilavit,
Inde Juvenis adhuc Sacro-Sanctae Theologiae Professor in
Academia GLASGOENSI electus est.

Postquam in ANGLIAM transiit rem sacram per aliquot
Annos in templo Rotulorum LONDINI administravit, donec
nimis acriter (ut iis qui rerum tum potiebantur visum est)
Ecclesiae Romanae malas artes insectatus, ab officio submotus est.
E patria temporum iniquitate profugus, EUROPAM peragravit.
Et deinceps cum principe AURIACO reversus, primus omnium
a Rege GULIELMO et Regina MARIA Praesul designatus,
et in summum tandem fiducia testimonium ab eodem
Principe Duci GLOCESTRIENSI Praceptor dictus est.

Tyrannidi et Superstitioni semper infensum scripta eruditissima
demonstrant, nec non Libertatis Patriae veraeque Religionis
strenuum semperque indefessum Propugnatorem. Quarum
utriusque conservandae spem unam jam à longo tempore in
Illustrissima Domo BRUNSVICENSI collocarat. Postquam
autem Dei Providentia singulari Regem GEORGIUM
Sceptro BRITANNO potitum conspexerat; brevi jam
Annorum et felicitatis satur è vivis excessit.

Duxit Uxorem Dominam MARGARITAM KENNEDY Comitiss
CASSILIAE filiam, dein MARIAM SCOT HAGAE COMITIS, quae ei
Septem liberos peperit, quorum adhuc in vivis sunt

GULIELMUS, GILBERTUS, MARIA, ELIZABETHA et THOMAS.

Postremo Uxorem duxit viduam ELIZABETHAM BERKELEY,
ex qua duos liberos suscepit, fato praemature non multo post extinctos.

Amplissimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis, et in sumptibus sed
ad utilitatem publicam spectantibus, vivus continuo erogavit, moriens
duo millia aureorum ABERDONIAE SALTONOQUE ad Juventutem pauperiorem
instituendam Testamento legavit.

Obiit 17 Die Martii, Anno Domini MDCCXIV-XV. Ætatis LXXII.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing papers were sent to the press, the reverend Mr. Sampson Letsome hath published an useful performance, entitled, "The Preacher's Assistant, in two parts."

In reviewing the account of bishop Burnet's sermons, contained in "this work," it appeareth, that Mr. Letsome hath ascribed to him two funeral sermons: 1. On Ephes. v. 16. 4to. 1678. 2. On 2 Tim. i. 6. 4to. 1689. But I apprehend there is some mistake in this ascription. It is certain, that neither of these sermons is included in the collection of sermons and discourses, written and printed in the years 1677—1704, published by the bishop's direction in 1704, in three volumes 4to. And I am the more confirmed in this sentiment, by observing, that Mr. Letsome hath not referred to any library, as containing the said sermons, nor produced any other authentic evidence in support of his ascribing them to the bishop.

The like mistake may be observed in another work of the same nature with Mr. Letsome's, entitled, "An Index to the sermons published since the restoration, in two parts; the first printed in 1734, the second in 1738; since reprinted together in one volume, with considerable additions and improvements, 1751."

N. B. In drawing up the preceding account of the numerous writings of the late eminent and worthy prelate, the greatest diligence and application have been exerted, in order to procure such authentic intelligence as might render it complete and accurate. But amidst a great variety of small tracts written and printed separately, at very different times, and at a period very distant from the present, it is not improbable, but that some of those lesser pieces may have escaped the observation of the compiler. The discovery and correction of any errors or defects of this kind, communicated to Mr. Millar in the Strand, will be gratefully acknowledged as a particular favour.

26 March, 1753.

(Dr. Bliss has been so obliging as to add to the foregoing list of the works of bishop Burnet the three following tracts.

A letter from the bishop of Salisbury to the clergy of his diocese. To be read at the triennial visitation in April and May, 1708. 4to. one sheet. It is in the British Museum, as well as the following tract.

A letter to a lord, upon his happy conversion from popery to the protestant religion. By G. Burnet, D. D. Printed in the year 1688. Four pages in 4to.

Thoughts on education, by the late bishop Burnet. Now first printed from an original manuscript. London. 8vo. 1761.

In the *New Biographia Britannica*, vol. III. p. 34—38. where has been added by Dr. Kippis a very sensible critique on Burnet's principal works, and particularly on this *History of his Own Time*, it is observed, p. 37, that “the bishop was the author of a few publications not specified in *Flexman's Catalogue*. One or two pieces were written by him concerning the treaty of Ryswick, and another on the conferences at Gertrudenberg. He wrote likewise a preface to *Mrs. Cockburn's Two Letters concerning a Guide in Controversies*, (*Life of Mrs. Cockburn*, p. xxx. *Works*, vol. I. p. 3, 4.) In the *Annual Register* for 1760 we find, ‘An humble Representation to those who are to sit on the throne,’ said to be left by our prelate to be printed after his death. (*Annual Register*, vol. III. p. 181.) It is certain, that a book which he had finished and prepared for the press, intitled ‘*Essays and Meditations on Morality and Religion*,’ was directed by him in his last will, to be published, but it doth not appear that this order was ever put into execution, (see *Flexman's Catalogue*, at the end.) Mr. Whiston mentions a Vindication which bishop Burnet wrote of himself from the reflections which doctor Stillingfleet cast upon him, for requiring bonds of resignation from those whom he made prebendaries of Sarum, in case they left that diocese. The publication of this paper, of which Mr. Whiston speaks very highly, was suppressed at the time of its

“ being written, out of respect to bishop Stillingfleet ; nor
“ did Mr. Thomas Burnet, after his father’s decease,
“ choose to give it to the world. (Whiston’s Life, p. 36,
“ 37.)”

In the year 1815 was published at London, in 8vo. a book entitled, *A Memorial offered to the princess Sophia, electoress and duchess dowager of Hanover, containing a delineation of the constitution and policy of England, according to the original in the royal library at Hanover, by Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. To which are added, letters from Burnet and Leibnitz.* But it appears from page 83 of the Memorial itself, compared with the signature G. S. that the real author was George Smyth, esq. of North Nibley in Gloucestershire. That it is erroneously ascribed to bishop Burnet, may be collected from other passages also of this Memorial.)

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TWO ORIGINAL VOLUMES

OF

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SUMMARY OF NOTES

TO THE SECOND EDITION OF
BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIMES,
WITH NOTES.

OXFORD, 1832.

It is to be observed, that the references in the following Index to the Notes on bishop Burnet's History, are made to the pages as numbered in the six octavo volumes, and not, as in the Index to the Text, to the pages of the original folio, retained in the margin.

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THE END.

CORRECTIONS.

PREFACE.

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viii. l. 16. six *read* the eight.xxvii. l. 3. *for* surmize *read* surmise.

VOL. I.

58. note, col. 1. l. 2. the bishop's giving, *cor.* the bishop to give, after the Dartmouth MS. In addition to the places corrected after this autograph, this and the places following should have been altered.

147. note, col. 2. l. 3. omit *that* with the MS.

152. note, col. 2. l. 6. matters of fact, *cor.* with the MS. matter of fact.

VOL. II.

233. note, col. 1. l. 3. Cruickshank, *cor.* Crookshank.

326. note, col. 1. l. 3. his reflection, *cor.* as the MS. the reflection.

328. l. 18. more rigour. Bowyer's Transcript of the suppressed passages adds, and particular spite.

VOL. III.

52. note b, l. 8. submission, *cor.* with the MS. submissions.

283. note s, l. 6. prince's. The MS. has prince's *for* princess's, as elsewhere.

312. note, l. 3. the declaration, his declaration.

VOL. IV.

91. note, col. 2. l. 6. Mr. Rose, *cor.* sir George H. Rose.

130. note, col. 1. l. 8. estates, *cor.* with the MS. estate.

201. l. 6. 112. reference to the folio edit. omitted.

386. note, col. 1. last line, of the greatest hardships, *cor.* with the MS. of the great hardships.

439. note, col. 2. l. 18. the archbishop, *cor.* with the MS. the archbishop's.

488. note, middle of col. 1. the MS. has too, *after* lord Hartington moved. Omit afterwards with the MS. too *before* much.

497. note, col. 2. l. 5. *cor.* with the MS. qualifications *for* qualification.

VOL. V.

142. note, col. 2. l. 10. *cor.* with the MS. needed *for* need.

182. note c, col. 2. l. 8. as to, *cor.* with the MS. for.

VOL. VI.

34. note, col. 1. the middle, read with the MS. by *instead of* at.

143. note f, l. 3. from the bottom, advantage, *cor.* as the MS. the advantage.

144. note, col. 1. l. 11. very sorry, *omit* with the MS. very.

Ibid. col. 1. last line, his son was advanced every year five [hundred] thousand pounds upon the land tax, *the MS. has*, his son advanced every year five hundred thousand pounds upon the land tax.

229. note, col. 2. l. 4. read with the MS. presume *for* suppose.

245. note, col. 2. first line, as a good, *cor.* with the MS. for a good.

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

469. col. 1. l. 11. from the bottom, *dele*, (perhaps Northamptonshire.)



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